Verbum Crucis, Virtus Dei: A Study of Theopaschism from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to the Age of Justinian

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the history of Theopaschite discourse between 451 and 533. While in its extreme forms Theopaschite discourse brought upon its proponents legitimate accusations of introducing suffering into the divine nature, it was also used in more moderate formulations for the purpose of emphasizing the unity of subject in Christ and the paradoxical nature of the mystery of the Incarnation. Cyril of Alexandria and his followers were fond of this type of discourse. The Antiochians, however, criticized Theopaschite discourse and mocked the paradoxes on which its legitimacy was bound to rely. The period leading up to the Council of Chalcedon (451) witnessed numerous conflicts on this subject. In the immediate aftermath of Chalcedon, however, Theopaschism nearly dissapeared from the stage of Christological controversy. The first generation of anti-Chalcedonians manifested great reservations in promoting Theopaschite discourse, despite the fact that, to them, it was the most appropriate type of discourse on the Incarnation. This reticence was most likely due to the fierce controversies in which this discourse had been involved before Chalcedon. In the late 460s Theopaschism re-entered the stage of doctrinal debates through the liturgy: the anti-Chalcedonians of Antioch were successful in adding to the Trisagion hymn "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us" the Theopaschite phrase "who was crucified for us." Theopaschite discourse thus

became more widely spread throughout the Eastern Empire. Imperial attitude favored this development. Theopaschite discourse then became progressively detached from the liturgical context and, through certain formulas that were used as battle cries, by anti-Chalcedonians at first and later by neo-Chalcedonians as well, it became more seriously embedded in the Christological controversies of ca. 490-520. It was eventually taken into the canon of orthodoxy of the Imperial Church under emperor Justinian.

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Introduction

The two decades separating the Council of Ephesus (431) from the Council of Chalcedon (451) witnessed a series of deep Christological controversies between Cyril of Alexandria and his followers, on the one side, and the Antiochian party, on the other. The main subject of contention was the Christological position of Nestorius, a monk from Antioch who became bishop of Constantinople in 428. Alongside the disputes over the orthodoxy of the title "*Theotokos*," and over the natures in Christ, there existed disputes over the correct use of language denoting suffering in connection with the Incarnation. Charges of Theopaschism were frequently formulated by the Antiochians against the Cyrillians, who, insisting on the unity of subject in Christ above all else, found it natural to affirm, for example, that God the Word died.

Cyril of Alexandria's early writings, in particular the *Twelve Anathemas* that accompanied his *Third Letter to Nestorius*, point to the fact that the issue of passibility/impassibility in the Incarnation preoccupied the bishop of Alexandria even before the Council of Ephesus (431).[1] As the controversy progressed, the accusations of Theopaschism became more frequent, and, not surprisingly, were associated with charges of Apollinarianism. In his letter to Mari the Persian, Ibas of Edessa accused Cyril of Apollinarianism and condemned the *Anathemas*.[2] "One incarnate nature of God the Word," a

[1] The Twelfth Anathema reads: "If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, becoming the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema." (Tr. in J.A. McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 275). Nestorius' *First Sermon against Theotokos*, as well as his reply to Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius*, contain accusations of Theopaschism against Cyril (see discussion in J.J. O'Keefe, "Impassible Suffering? Divine Passion and Fifth-Century Christology," *Theological Studies* 58 (1997): 39-60, here 52).

[2] R. Price and M. Gaddis, tr. and comm., *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), here vol. 2, 295-296 (henceforth *The Acts*).

key phrase in Cyril's Christology, turned out to be an Apollinarian forgery circulating under the name of Athanasius. The Antiochians were relentless in associating the Cyrillians with the fourth-century heretic Apollinarius of Laodicea, at all stages of the Nestorian controversy and for a long time afterwards. To a large extent, the accusations of Theopaschism were in fact derived from accusations of Apollinarianism. In Apollinarius' Christology, the place of the human soul in Christ was taken by the divine Logos. As a result, one of the accusations laid against this Christological stance was that it predicated suffering of the divine nature.

It has been argued in recent studies that Theopaschism was central to the Nestorian controversy, perhaps even more important than, and even prior to, the debate over natures.[3] It has also been argued that the early fifth-century disputes over Theopaschism were a direct consequence of fourth-century Nicene theology.[4] The Arian solution, which preserved divine impassibility by negating Christ's divinity, was unacceptable, but the Nicene solution, which prevailed, did not solve this difficult theological and philosophical problem in such a way as to avoid further dispute.

Two major works from the Antiochian side, Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Eranistes* and Nestorius' *Liber Heraclidis*, confirm the importance taken by the debate over Theopaschism before 451. The immediate consequence of Cyril's Christological formula "one incarnate nature of God the Word," as far as Nestorius and the Antiochians were concerned, was that God suffered in his own nature.[5]

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[3] See *infra*, p. 8.
[4] See J.J. O'Keefe, "Impassible Suffering?," 40 and 57; in O'Keefe's words, after Nicaea, "with the Son's divine stature assured, the problem of impassibility became, if anything, more difficult" (40).
[5] Cyril discusses this accusation in his *Second Letter to Succensus* (English translation in J.A McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, 359-363, here 359.

As J. Hallman has remarked, "divine impassibility is clearly the single most important issue in it [the *Liber Heraclidis*], discussed repeatedly throughout the treatise."[6] Nestorius is particularly emphatic about the dangers introduced by the Theopaschites, and criticizes the hypocrisy of those who, while purportedly confessing divine impassibility, "put God on the cross" on account of the hypostatic union.[7] In a passage from the *Liber Heraclidis*, Nestorius even documents the presence of Theopaschite language within popular piety.[8] A lost work by Nestorius, the *Adversus Theopaschitas*, was probably dedicated in its majority to this problem.

Theodoret devoted one of the three dialogues contained in the *Eranistes* (published in 447/8, at the same time as the controversy over Eutyches ignited), and large parts of the other two dialogues, to the issue of Theopaschism. The opponent of Orthodox in Theodoret's work, a Cyrillian, defends the affirmation that "God suffered impassibly," a formula devised by Cyril in order to rebut accusations that he was introducing suffering into the godhead. Theodoret questioned the value of this paradoxical statement:

> What sensible person would put up with these absurd riddles? For no one has ever heard of impassible suffering or immortal death. That which is impassible did not suffer, and that which suffered would not remain impassible.[9]

Modern scholarship sometimes joined Theodoret in this criticism. H. Chadwick, for example, has noted that, unable to understand and accept the Antiochian point of view, where salvation

[6] J.M. Hallman, "The Seed of Fire: Divine Suffering in the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople," in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5.3 (1997): 369-391, here 390.
[7] See, for example, Nestorius, *Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* 1.2, tr. F. Nau, P. Bedjan and M. Brière (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1910), 87.
[8] *Ibid.* II.2, 318-319. On the occasion of an earthquake in Constantinople (in 447 or 450, see Nau, fn 1, 318) the crowds were asking for divine mercy "each in their own way," and some were addressing God as follows: "O God, who suffered and died for us;" these same people "were furious against those who dared to say that God was immortal and impassible."
[9] Theodoret, *Eranistes*, tr. and comm. G.H. Ettlinger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Dialogue 3, 263.

comes from the self-sacrifice of a pure and righteous person, Cyril embraced the self-contradictory and "not very illuminating" phrase "God suffered impassibly."[10]

More neutral sources also attest to the role played by Theopaschism in the Nestorian controversy. A confession of faith by Acacius of Beroea (d. 437), the famed Syrian bishop who became involved in the Nestorian controversy and lobbied for peace between the Alexandrians and the Antiochians after the Council of Ephesus, confirms the importance of the Theopaschite matter.[11] In this text Acacius proposed a balance between the two positions, insisting on the double consubstantiality, on the formula "*from* two natures," as well as on the valid ways of predicating suffering in relation to the Incarnation.

Having to defend himself from the Antiochian attacks, Cyril composed various explanations of and apologies for the *Twelve Chapters*, and often took up his opponents' accusations in the letters. At times he went so far in his clarifications that his position appears not significantly different on this matter from that taken by his adversaries. In his *Second Letter to Succensus*, for example, he wrote:

> If we confess that after the union there is one enfleshed nature of the Son how does that imply by necessity that he suffered in his own nature? Certainly, if there was nothing in the system of the economy that was capable of suffering, they would have been right to conclude that since there was nothing there that was passible then the suffering must of necessity have fallen upon the nature of the Word. On the other hand, if the word "incarnate" implies the whole system of the economy with flesh [...] then in that case those who argue that it is an absolutely necessary implication of his assumption of flesh that he has to undergo suffering in his own nature are talking utter nonsense. **It is the flesh which has to be seen as undergoing suffering while the Word remains impassible.** Nonetheless we do not rule out the legitimacy of saying that he suffered, for just as the body became his very own, just so can all the

[10] H. Chadwick, "Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy," in *Journal of Theological Studies* 2 (1951): 145-164, here 158-159. See also a discussion of the phrase in J.M. Hallman, "The Seed of Fire: Divine Suffering in the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople," 383-384.
[11] *Collectio Casinensis* 312, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum I.4, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1922/23), 243-245. The main point of Acacius' confession remained the affirmation of the impassibility of the divine nature. Acacius promoted the phrase "divinitate impassibilis, humanitate passibilis."

> characteristics of the body be attributed to him, with the sole exception of sin, in terms of the economy by which he made them his own.[12]

The only affirmation Cyril shunned in this text was the Antiochian confession of two natures. He otherwise gave an interpretation of his Christology which firmly countered his opponents' accusations of Theopaschism.

Despite this, some of the more radical Antiochians rejected as deceitful his confession of divine impassibility. In a letter to Alexander of Hierapolis, Eutherius of Tyana refused to accept Cyril's explanations regarding divine impassibility,[13] and condemned at the same time those Antiochians who, by accepting the peace of 433, "together with him raised their hand against the divinity."[14]

Accusations of Theopaschism continued to be laid against the Cyrillians after Cyril's death in 444. It has been argued that Theodoret's opponent in *Eranistes*, emphatically accused by the bishop of Cyrrhus of holding Theopaschite views, was Dioscorus himself,[15] the follower of Cyril in the see of Alexandria. Correspondence carried out between Domnus of Antioch and Dioscorus of Alexandria in the years preceding the Second Council of Ephesus (449) contains evidence that Domnus accused the Alexandrians of propagating Theopaschite views. He complained against a group of Egyptian monks who were followers of Dioscorus, and who, at the time of the Eucharist, "had the audacity to shout before the congregation and to say – 'whether you like it or not, *God died.*'"[16] He furthermore condemned Dioscorus' attitude of acceptance toward this type of discourse. Domnus was accused of Nestorianism at the Second Council of Ephesus, and the basis for the accusation

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[12] Cyril of Alexandria, *Second Letter to Succensus*, 360. Emphasis mine.
[13] *Coll. Casinensis* 291, 23-25, 220-221.
[14] *Ibid.* 291, 25, 221. Cyril's explanations resonated better with early-sixth-century neo-Chalcedonian authors, who used them to demonstrate that Cyril's understanding of the formula "one incarnate nature of God the Word" was not in any essential disagreement with the formula "in two natures."
[15] Theodoret, *Eranistes*, "Introduction," 10.
[16] S.G.F. Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus* (Dartford: Orient Press, 1881), 354.

was that he held beliefs that were in contradiction with Cyril, and in particular with Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*.[17] The rejection of the paradoxical Theopaschite language no doubt accounted to a large extent for this accusation.

Theopaschite discourse was rejected at Chalcedon. During the fourth session of the council, a group of monks led by Dorotheus and Carosus proposed that the Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity suffered" be introduced in the canon of orthodoxy.[18] Their proposal was not well received, and they were accused of heresy.[19] Although an anathema was not laid against the Theopaschite formula on that occasion, a condemnation of Theopaschism was included in the final definition produced at Chalcedon. However, it is of significance that the council merely condemned an extreme Theopaschite statement, which nobody in the fifth century would have probably accepted, namely that "the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible."[20]

Disputes over Theopaschism were thus omnipresent, and, to be sure, grew in complexity between 431 and 451. However, they disappeared almost entirely from public attention in the immediate aftermath of Chalcedon. For the period 451-518 both primary sources and secondary literature attest only scattered instances of conflicts over Theopaschite language, focusing in their majority on the Theopaschite addition "who was crucified for us" to the Trisagion hymn "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us." This scarcity of evidence regarding a coherent articulation of Theopaschite discourse in the aftermath of Chalcedon led a number of modern scholars to dismiss figures who did promote this type of discourse, such as Peter the Fuller (who introduced the Theopaschite addition to

[17] S.G.F. Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, 361.
[18] See *The Acts*, vol. 2, 162.
[19] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 167.
[20] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 203.

the Trisagion in Antioch in 469-471) or Maxentius (one of the leaders of the Scythian monks who lobbied in 518-520 for the orthodoxy of the Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh"), as agitators and fanatics.[21]

The official ban on Theopaschite language that came in 451, as well as the prevalence of debates over the natures in Christ in the years preceding Chalcedon and at the Council of Chalcedon itself, led in fact to a temporary disappearance of Theopaschism from the front stage of Christological debate. As far as can be established based on his extant works, Timothy Aelurus, Dioscorus' first anti-Chalcedonian successor to the see of Alexandria, used Theopaschite language sparingly. However, the anti-Chalcedonians grew progressively more confident in using Theopaschite language in the second half of the fifth century, to the point where it was brought back to the forefront of Christological debate toward the end of the fifth century and in the early sixth century.

The present study examines the development of this process between 451 and 533, demonstrating that Theopaschism was a subject of vast interest throughout the entire second half of the fifth century, as well as in the early sixth century. The late-fifth-century disputes over the Theopaschite Trisagion, as well as the controversy over the Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" in the second decade of the sixth century, are not disparate occurrences of Theopaschite discourse. They are in fact a continuation of the early-fifth-century attempts to solve the difficult aspect of explaining the economy by means of the notions of passibility and impassibility, in such a way as to not affirm that the divinity

[21] See, for example, E. Schwartz's characterization of Peter the Fuller in his *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934), 182 (henceforth E. Schwartz, *PS*), and Ch. Moeller's characterization of Maxentius in "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VIe siècle," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart I*, ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Wurzburg: Echter Verlag, 1962), 637-720, here 678.

suffered, and to preserve, at the same time, the soteriological value of the Incarnation by not affirming that a mere man suffered.

Traditionally seen as a side matter of fifth- and sixth-century Christological controversies, Theopaschism has recently formed the subject matter of several substantial studies. In his article "Impassible Suffering? Divine Passion and Fifth-Century Christology," J. O'Keefe has identified Theopaschism as the main issue that underlay the Christological controversies in the first half of the fifth century.[22] Two studies by P. Gavrilyuk, "Theopatheia: Nestorius's main charge against Cyril of Alexandria"[23] and *The Suffering of the Impassible God: The Dialectics of Patristic Thought*,[24] bring excellent insights into the theology of the Nestorian controversy starting from the accusations of Theopaschism formulated against the Cyrillians. A similar, primarily theological approach to Theopaschism at the time of the Nestorian controversy was used by J. Hallman.[25]

Elements from the history of Theopaschite discourse in the second half of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth century, such as the fights over the Theopaschite Trisagion and the Theopaschite controversy involving the Scythian monks, have also been thoroughly analyzed by several important scholars of Late Antiquity.[26] Despite these new

[22] J.J. O'Keefe, "Impassible Suffering?," *passim*, e.g., 57. Cf. also J.M. Hallman, "The Seed of Fire: Divine Suffering in the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople," 370.
[23] *Scottish Journal of Theology* 56 (2003): 190-207.
[24] *The Suffering of the Impassible God: The Dialectics of Patristic Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[25] See, for example, J.M. Hallman, "The Seed of Fire: Divine Suffering in the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople;" see also *The Descent of God: Divine Suffering in History and Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991). In his latest book, *The Coming of the Impassible God: Tracing a Dilmma in Christian Theology* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), J.M. Hallman also incorporates later authors such as Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug, Leontius of Jerusalem and Maximus the Confessor in his study of Theopaschism, without however providing a satisfactory contextualization of these authors, or a representative selection of their texts.
[26] A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition 2: From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604)*, tr. P. Allen and J. Cawte (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1987) (henceforth *CCT*); E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431, eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1927) and *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen*

advances toward a more substantial understanding of Theopaschism, much remains to be done before this aspect of the fifth-century Christological controversies can be given its full value and its deserved place in the history of fifth-century Christology. Envisaging the history of Theopaschism as a coherent whole and using it as a window on the more intricate network of doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and political developments of the fifth century is an enterprise that, to my knowledge, has not been undertaken to date.

A re-evaluation of the disputes over Theopaschism and, more generally, of what these disputes represented for the history of the Church in this period is necessary. This study sets out to demonstrate that, contrary to what has been believed in the past, the history of Theopaschism is characterized by *coherence* and *continuity*. It argues that, when examined outside of the conceptual framework of orthodoxy vs. heresy (which is still dominant in numerous recent expositions on religion in Late Antiquity, and obscures to a large extent the more complex relationships that existed between the main historical actors of this period), and within a more flexible understanding of post-Chalcedonian Church history, the history of Theopaschism can be reconstructed in a more articulate manner than it traditionally has been.

A significant number of works on Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages produced in the twentieth century stem from the methodological principles advanced by the *Annales* School. The historiographical model of the *longue durée*, when applied to the study of the first Christian centuries, has produced works that are remarkable in their intellectual vitality, their large chronological scope and their broad explanatory potential. For example, the study of institutions (e.g., monasticism or sainthood) from a social perspective, stressing the cyclic

*Schisma.*Valuable analyses of these episodes can also be found in W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, © 1972); P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)* (Leiden: Brill, 1979); C.B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

character of historical phenomena and establishing cultural types and historical patterns in monograph-type works, has advanced our knowledge of Late Antiquity and continues to bring forth insightful interpretations of various aspects pertaining to the early-Christian era. However, in a field in which the amount of unstudied material, problematic textual traditions and obscure small-scale events remains overwhelming, studies oriented toward a *histoire événementielle* are particularly relevant. In this study I embrace this approach as a general line of research, aiming to provide a substantial analysis of the history of Theopaschite discourse in the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon, as well as a detailed examination of the manner in which the historians of Late Antiquity perceived and reconstructed this history.

Chapter 1: Theopaschism in the Aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon

At the Council of Chalcedon, a delegation of monks led by Carosus and Dorotheus submitted a petition, indicating their opinion that no other creed was needed beyond that of Nicaea, and that the formula "he who suffered is one of the Trinity" ought to be considered orthodox.[27] It was a suggestion that was largely ignored. The subsequent discussion concentrated on the monks' refusal to comply with the decisions of the council, and no mention was made of the Theopaschite issue at that time.

A ban on Theopaschism was included in the definition of faith of Chalcedon, against those who believed "that the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible."[28] This was a rather meaningless anathema, since nobody in the fifth century actually defended such a position. As a result of this, however, Theopaschism as a type of Christological discourse officially passed into the realm of the clandestine. It is peculiar that, although Theopaschism occupied an important role at the time of the Nestorian controversy, it was not a matter that raised any significant debate at Chalcedon. The level of control exercised by the imperial commissioners present at the council may have accounted to a large extent for this situation.[29]

Carosus and Dorotheus were not well received at the council, and accusations of heresy were laid against them. However, they were neither condemned nor exiled in 451, nor was the Theopaschite formula they proposed specifically rejected. In fact, Carosus and Dorotheus were still present in Constantinople more than two years after the Council, as late

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[27] *The Acts* vol. 2, 156-168, esp. 162.
[28] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 203.
[29] See discussion of the imperial control exercised at Chalcedon in M. Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 315-316. See also G.E.M. De Sainte Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, and Orthodoxy*, ed. J. Streeter and M. Whitby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 273-294.

as May 454, and were protesting against the decisions taken at Chalcedon, while "perverting the hearts of many."[30] From a papal letter sent in March 455 we learn that action was eventually taken, and that they were removed from their monasteries.[31]

The episode of their petition at Chalcedon was later reconstructed. The lack of interest of the gathering of bishops in the Theopaschite matter raised by Carosus and Dorotheus was eliminated from the narrative, and the resulting story was eventually used as evidence in the early sixth century that the Theopaschite formula had been specifically condemned at Chalcedon.[32]

Despite the absence of such condemnation, the Council of Chalcedon and the reference to Theopaschism included in its definition did have an immediate effect on the manner in which the Cyrillian party felt that they ought to promote this type of discourse. Omnipresent in Cyril and apparently heavily defended by Dioscorus, Theopaschite discourse makes much less conspicuous appearances among the first generation of anti-Chalcedonians, the most representative of whom was Timothy Aelurus, the patriarch of Alexandria between 457-460 and 475-477.

This chapter looks briefly into the history of the first decade after the Council of Chalcedon, and analyzes in detail the career of Timothy Aelurus, before offering an analysis of the use of Theopaschite discourse, and of the problems associated with it, during this

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[30] As observed by pope Leo, *Collectio Grimanica* 81, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II, 4: *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense, Leonis Papae I epistularum collectiones*, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1932), 91.

[31] The punishment consisted of forced residence in the monasteries of those "whom they cannot hurt," i.e., of their enemies; see *Coll. Grimanica* 86, 95. See discussion in *The Acts*, vol. 2, 165. A letter dated May 455 mentions that Carosus had corrected his beliefs, but was still refusing to communicate with Anatolius because of the enmity between them (*Coll. Grimanica* 85, 94).

[32] See for example *Epistula Trifolii presbyteri ad beatum Faustum senatorem contra Ioannem Scytham monachum* 5, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85, ed. S. Gennaro and Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1972), 135-141, here 139; written in 519, in the context of the Theopaschite controversy.

period. It argues that the anti-Chalcedonians found themselves uneasy about using Theopaschite discourse in the years following Chalcedon, but nevertheless found ways to integrate it into their Christology. Having in mind the important goal of reversing the decisions taken at Chalcedon, they found it untimely and counterproductive to try to advance their cause while actively and polemically defending phrases such as "God suffered impassibly;" in exchange, they searched for more cautious ways of using this, to them, essential mode of discourse on the Incarnation. Writings from the Dyophysite side demonstrate that this strategy was not without some success. A constant redefinition of the Christological canon of orthodoxy, as well as a certain ecumenical permissiveness calling to mind the late-fifth-/early-sixth-century neo-Chalcedonian position, was characteristic of this period. It is against this background that the anti-Chalcedonian use of Theopaschite discourse developed in this period. It is possible that this same background rendered Theopaschism less problematic in the eyes of moderate Dyophysites.

1. The Historical context

1.1. The Reception of the Council of Chalcedon

Often portrayed in scholarship as the happy denouement of the deep Christological conflicts of the first half of the fifth century, Chalcedon had in fact a much convoluted reception.[33] Conceptual premises, recognized authorities, established textual traditions – all this fluctuated for several decades in the aftermath of Chalcedon. Bishops switching allegiances and changing their doctrinal statements more than once during their period of episcopal

[33] For an insightful account of this reception, see P.T.R. Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon: Christological Problems and Their Significance," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 215-238.

service were a common occurrence.[34] Several years after the Council of Chalcedon, it was still unclear to many what this council had prescribed.[35] Its decisions were frequently misunderstood, misrepresented, or ignored, often out of a pre-existing desire either to anchor this council to the treasured, mainstream heritage of the councils held at Nicaea (325), at Constantinople (381), and at Ephesus (431), or to tie it disparagingly to the doomed heritage of universally-acknowledged heresies, such as Nestorianism. As a result, a number of Chalcedonian bishops came to see Chalcedon as a disciplinary council, while becoming more and more open to a more permissive form of Chalcedonianism, one that would occupy the forefront of Christology in the sixth century, neo-Chalcedonianism.[36]

Opposition to Chalcedon or support for it were largely arbitrary choices for many of those involved in the struggles that followed the council. Documents describing the conditions for receiving converts to communion, for example, mirror this situation:[37] the

[34] Zachariah of Mytilene, *The Syriac Chronicle* IV, 3, tr. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks (London: Methuen & Co.), 1899, 68-69 (henceforth *Zacharias*), retells how the Chalcedonian Proterian bishops tried to join Timothy Aelurus' anti-Chalcedonian party after Proterius' death, only to reiterate their support for Chalcedon when this proved to be a vain attempt because of opposition from strict Chalcedonians. In his *Letter to all Egypt, the Thebaid and Pentapolis* (R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy Aelurus," *Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1970): 321-369, here 362-364 (henceforth Timothy, "Letters")), Timothy Aelurus instructs his addressees on how they ought to treat bishops, priests, foreign religious and laymen defecting from among the Dyophysites.

[35] Among the response letters to emperor Leo's *Codex Encyclicus* there are some that support this contention. Alypius, the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia I, mentioned that he did not know what had happened at Chalcedon, having received nothing more than the definition of this Council from one of his fellow-bishops (*Collectio Sangermanensis* 38, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II, 5, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1936), 76), but argues nevertheless that Chalcedon sanctioned Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* (*Ibid.*, 76)! According to *Zacharias* III, 1, 44, his predecessor, Thalassius of Caesarea had been on Dioscorus' side at Ephesus II; he then supported the decisions taken at Chalcedon. Thalassius probably died without returning to Caesarea after Chalcedon; this would explain his successor's lack of information.

[36] One of the first examples, chronologically, would be that of Flavian II of Antioch (498-512), as well as groups in Antioch and Palestine mentioned by Philoxenus of Mabbug (see the *Letter to the Monks of Palestine*, in A. de Halleux, ed., tr. and comm., "Nouveaux textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabbog I," *Le Muséon* 75 (1962): 31-62).

[37] One year penance and the anathematization of Chalcedon and the *Tome* was required of Dyophysite clergy (Timothy, "Letters" 4, 362-364); laymen were asked to anathematize the heretics and were immediately received to communion. Conditions for people from the other end of the Christological spectrum, dubbed Phantasiasts by Timothy, were even lighter: "If, therefore, an ordinary, simple person comes to you, confessing the holy faith of the consubstantial Trinity, and desirous of being in communion with you who acknowledge our Lord's fleshly consubstantiality with us – I entreat you, not to constrain those who hold such views as these at

lightness of conditions indicates that there existed a certain amount of lenience with regard to changes of sides, and that doctrinal *akribia* was often waived in such circumstances.

1.2. Timothy of Alexandria's Ecclesiastical Career

Timothy occupied the front stage of theology and ecclesiastical politics between 457 and 477, with results that were to leave an indelible imprint on the mindset of subsequent generations of anti- and non-Chalcedonians. His extant writings have been edited for the most part, but limited use has been made of them in modern studies concerning this period.[38]

Timothy brought into play all the modes of disputation available to the late fifth-century polemicist: he contested the validity of the Council of Chalcedon, wrote extensively against the definition formulated at this council, and against pope Leo's *Tome*, compiled collections of proof-texts, used the "*reductio ad haereticos*," possibly encouraged emperor Leo's initiative to summon the pope to Constantinople for a face-to-face disputation,[39] established standards of legitimacy and illegitimacy in matters of doctrinal lineage, produced formulas of abjuration, sent militant letters to various regions of the empire, and eventually faced exile.

Like all anti-Chalcedonian writers, Timothy has received a less than fair treatment in modern scholarship. Unlike certain anti-Chalcedonian writers who have been more or less

all with other words, nor require from them additional verbal subtleties, but leave such people to praise God and bless the Lord in the simplicity and innocence of their hearts. [...] Anyone who does not abuse the saints touching this declaration: "I confess that our Lord is our brother and that he was of the same fleshly stock as us for the sake of our salvation" – accept such an one in our Lord, building him up yourselves on your holy faith." (Timothy, "Letters," 365-366).

38 The only scholar who made extensive use of Timothy Aelurus' writings in his historical studies of this period is Philippe Blaudeau (see *Alexandrie et Constantinople, 451-491: De l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006) and "Timothée Aelure et la direction ecclésiale de l'Empire post-chacédonien," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 54 (1996): 107-133).

39 See *Coll. Grimanica* 97, 101-104.

"redeemed" as historical sources in recent scholarship,[40] Timothy Aelurus remains the reckless murderer of the legitimate, Chalcedonian bishop Proterius of Alexandria, an unlawfully consecrated bishop, and the accomplice of the usurper Basiliscus. Even a recent publication like R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham's "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon"[41] presents him, in a descriptive rather than argumentative vein, as a "failure" in the area of ecclesiastical statesmanship,[42] as a "pamphleteer and propagandist for a cause."[43] Ebied and Wickham argue that "to call him a theologian is to fail to do justice to the genre into which his surviving writings fall. All of them are *pièces d'occasion*, the work of a leader under attack rallying his forces to continue the struggle."[44] A more general reassessment of his role in fifth-century theology and ecclesiastical politics is necessary. A study of his use of Theopaschite language will bring us a step closer to this reassessment.

In what follows, I shall provide a brief presentation of Timothy's ecclesiastical career, both by way of introduction, and in a desire to discuss certain aspects regarding this personage that up to now have been either misunderstood, or, even more often, overlooked.

A former ascetic,[45] ordained a priest by Cyril of Alexandria,[46] Timothy, a man "of the same faith as Dioscorus,"[47] accompanied Dioscorus at Ephesus in 449 together with

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[40] John Rufus (J.-E. Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002)), Peter the Iberian (C.B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*), Severus of Antioch (a number of researchers, starting with Lebon; more recently, P. Allen), or Philoxenus of Mabbug (primarily through the studies of A. de Halleux; thoroughly studied in recent years by R.A. Kitchen and D.A. Michelson).
[41] R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon," in *After Chalcedon, Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert Van Roey for His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. C. Laga, J. A. Munitiz and L. Van Rompay (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, Utgeverij Peeters, 1985), 115-166.
[42] R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 115.
[43] *Ibid.*, 116.
[44] *Ibid.*, 116.
[45] *Zacharias*, IV, 1, 65; Evagrius Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* II, 8, tr. M. Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 85 (henceforth *Evagrius*). See John Rufus, *Plérophories*

Anatolius, his brother, also a priest.[48] Not much else is known of him between 449 and 457, the year of Marcian's death.

There is evidence that, after Dioscorus' death in 454, attempts were made to install a follower of Dioscorus to the see of Alexandria, most possibly Timothy. Pope Leo related:

> [...] if a certain confusion still persists in Egypt nowadays, which does not receive the rays of truth yet, let it receive the remedies of enlightenment through the prayers of the whole world, and let it not be weighed down with the contagion of the accursed Dioscorus anymore; also, the Lord's herd **should not appoint in that imprudent state of mind as bishop a person whom they have learned to be most cruel in his customs and a destroyer of the faith.**[49]

According to a story preserved in the *Letter to 'Abu Afr* of the late-fifth-century anti-Chalcedonian bishop Philoxenus of Mabbog – not confirmed by any other source – after Proterius, a supporter of Chalcedon, was instated as patriarch of Alexandria in 451, to replace the condemned and exiled Dioscorus, the Alexandrians who did not support Chalcedon took Timothy Aelurus and left for Abyssinia.[50] According to this story, Timothy did not return to Alexandria until after Proterius' death.

26, ed. and tr. F. Nau, in Patrologia Orientalis 8 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912), 63-67, for an exemplary story pointing to Timothy's enduring ascetic practices.

[46] *Anonymous Chronicle to the year 846*, in *Chronica Minora*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 3, 4, ed. E.W. Brooks, tr. J.B. Chabot (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1904), 163.

[47] *Zacharias* IV, 1, 65.

[48] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," in Patrologia Orientalis 13 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919), 159-269, here 203.

[49] *Coll. Grimanica* 72, 82. Emphasis mine.

[50] Philoxenus of Mabbug, *Letter to Abu 'Afr*, in A. Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East. A New Document," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* 9 (1925): 352-371, here 357. Liberatus of Carthage, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* XIV, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II, V, 98-141, here 124, offers the following version of the events: "sed Timotheus quidam cognomento Elurus et Petrus Mongos diaconus, qui de ordinatione fuerunt Dioscori, ab Alexandria ecclesia se separaverunt nolentes communicare Proterio. Quos cum Proterius episcopus ad ministerium proprium revocare non posset, utrosque damnavit." Yet a more detailed version of the events, and one in which Proterius is accused of extreme violence against Timothy, is given by John Rufus in *The Life of Peter the Iberian* 92 (*John Rufus: The* Lives *of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*, ed. and tr. C.B. Horn and R.P. Phenix (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 1-281, here 141): "Finally, he did not refrain from rushing in against the divine baptistry, and from the holy Jordan, that is, from the font of the worshipful baptism, like a rebel he took by force the holy Timothy along with Anatolius, his brother, and they led him to Taposiris, a desert fortress thirty miles distant from the city. There they imprisoned him under guard by soldiers, so that from then on that impious Proterius, finding a time that was opportune for his madness, again manifested many evils against those

This presentation certainly hides an agenda, namely to absolve Timothy from all possible involvement in the murdering of the Chalcedonian Proterius. But no less extreme and difficult to believe is Evagrius Scholasticus' suggestion that the inhabitants of Alexandria killed Proterius *upon Timothy's instigation*,[51] or Cyril of Scythopolis' extremely condensed version of the events, according to which "one Timothy called Aelurus harassed and convulsed the city of Alexandria by murdering Proterius, bishop of the city, in the holy baptistery and usurping the patriarchal throne."[52]

Zacharias Scholasticus' version of the events seems to hold the *via media*, even though the historian does not make any effort to hide his anti-Chalcedonian affinities. Proterius, an unpopular patriarch by whose order many anti-Chalcedonians had been murdered, was – not upon somebody's order – killed by Roman soldiers. This event, in Zacharias' opinion, freed the way for the bishop the people wanted for themselves, Timothy.[53] This kind of disturbance, as the earlier course of events in Palestine had shown, was not unusual after the council of 451.[54]

Although evidence on this subject does not abound, it is clear that, during the period leading up to Timothy's consecration, there existed a well-organized opposition to Chalcedon in Egypt.[55] The *Anonymous Chronicle to the year 846* and Zacharias affirm that the support

monks and laypeople who were unwilling to take part in his wickedness, especially against those responsible for the ordination of the blessed Timothy."

[51] *Evagrius* II, 8, 85.

[52] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, tr. R.M. Price (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), *Life of Euthymius*, 50, 21, 47.

[53] *Zacharias* IV, 2, 67. John Rufus, *The Life of Peter the Iberian* 95, 143, confirms that Proterius was killed by a soldier.

[54] Juvenal of Jerusalem had been prevented from entering the city after the Council of Chalcedon, and the monk Theodosius, who refused to accept the decisions of the council, was proclaimed bishop. See E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950): 209-279, here 247-257; see also C.B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*, 80-86.

[55] See, for example, *Zacharias* III, 2, 49 and III, 11, 59-60.

for Dioscorus after Chalcedon was high in the monasteries of Egypt.[56] That Timothy himself had the support of the monasteries is to some extent substantiated by a legend preserved in Theophanes' *Chronographia.* According to this legend, Timothy had the habit of going to the monks' cells at night, of calling them by name, and of addressing them in this way: "I am an angel and I have been sent to tell everyone to refrain from communion with Proterios and the party of Chalcedon, and to appoint Timothy the Cat bishop of Alexandria."[57] As bizarre and defamatory as this legend certainly is, it might have been built on a more believable fact, namely that Timothy actually enjoyed the support of the monastic communities of Egypt.[58]

Pressured by the Chalcedonians of Alexandria to condemn Timothy, and apparently prevented by patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople from summoning a new council[59] (lobbied for, as it seems, by Timothy's party),[60] emperor Leo I (457-474) launched an unusual initiative. He wrote a circular letter – the *Codex Encyclicus*[61] – to the episcopate of the empire, asking the bishops to give their opinion regarding two matters: the Council of

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[56] *Anonymous Chronicle to the year 846*, 163; *Zacharias* III, 11, 60.
[57] *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, AM 5949, tr. C. Mango, R. Scott, and G. Greatrex (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 169.
[58] See P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 149; *Life of Peter the Iberian* 91, 135-137.
[59] On the intention to summon a new council, see *Coll. Grimanica* 91, 98. On Anatolius' intervention, see *Zacharias* IV, 5, 70: "he was very uneasy lest, if a Synod were assembled, it might put an end to all the transactions of Chalcedon. And his anxiety was not for the faith, but rather for the privileges and honours which had been unjustly granted to the see of the royal city." Zacharias writes, moreover, that the decision to send out the *Codex Encyclicus* was also inspired by Anatolius (*ibid.* IV, 5, 70). Pope Leo himself, W.H.C. Frend notes, with his "frantic activity, which included the dispatch of six important and well-argued letters (*Epp.* 148-153) on a single day, 1 September 457, probably contributed towards preventing this plan from being put into effect." (*The Rise of The Monophysite Movement*, 160).
[60] *Coll. Grimanica* 91, 98: [the heretics] "qui post immanitatem facinoris perpetrati hoc sibi possibile esse credebant **ut** sanctae Calchedonensis synodi definitionibus resolutis in alios tractatus **vocaretur episcopale concilium.**" Also *Ibid.* 97, 103: "nec ullo modo ambigi potest quid de his decernendum sit qui post nefanda sacrilegia, post sanguinem probatissimi sacerdotis effusum et concremati corporis cinerem in contumeliam aeris caelique dispersum **audent sibi ius pervasae dignitatis expetere et apostolicae doctrinae inviolabilem fidem ad concilia provocare.**" Emphasis mine
[61] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 6, 11, *Evagrius* II, 9, 90-91.

Chalcedon, and the ordination of Timothy Aelurus. He appended to the *Codex*, as sources of information, the petitions made to him by Timothy and by the Alexandrian Chalcedonians.[62]

The responses of the bishops were apparently composed according to what they thought was expected from them in Constantinople:[63] approval of Chalcedon, and condemnation of Timothy. In addition to pressure exerted by patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople, pope Leo himself probably exerted a certain influence on the bishops' recognition of Chalcedon, by having letters of his in support of Chalcedon and against Timothy sent to various provinces.[64] Moreover, the only extant collection that contains the response letters of the bishops, the *Sangermanensis*, seems to have been tailored by a Chalcedonian hand,[65] with the intention of conveying the widespread support Chalcedon enjoyed among the bishops.

Despite all this, the answers are not entirely clear-cut, neither with regard to the validity of Chalcedon, nor with regard to the validity of Timothy's ordination. I shall take up

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[62] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 7-9, 11-22.
[63] *Zacharias* IV, 7, 75: "They say, indeed, that the other bishops also were influenced to write thus by the instigation of Anatolius, and his letters to them." and *Ibid.* IV, 8, 76: "he was the cause of the letters sent by the bishops to the emperor, in which they agreed to the transaction of the Synod. But many senators and citizens, having learned this respecting Anatolius, withdrew from his communion." Liberatus (*Breviarium* XV, 124) explains in which way Anatolius might have been "the cause of the letters:" "imperator [...] direxit per totum Orientem magistrianos, **mittit et Anatolius episcopus Asclipiadem diaconum suum** per quos omnes illi episcopi qui Calchedonam fuerant congregati, quid Alexandriae gestum fuit, agnoscerent." Emphasis mine.
[64] In a letter of 1 September 457 addressed to bishops Basil [of Antioch], Juvenal [of Jerusalem], Euxitheus [of Thessalonica], Peter and Luke, Leo expresses the necessity to uphold Chalcedon; it was the stoutness of the bishops that would eventually have the greatest influence on the decision of the emperor, pope Leo argued; he also asked his addressees to further disseminate his *cohortatio* (*Coll. Grimanica* 91, 98). In a letter to Julian of Cos he affirmed that he had sent letters to Julian and to Aetius, priest of Constantinople, meant to be shared with all the metropolitan bishops (*Coll. Grimanica* 93, 99); in a letter to the priest Aetius Leo affirmed that he had sent letters to the bishops of Illyricum, letters which he entreated Aetius to forward to Antioch and Jerusalem as well, "quae animum eorum firment atque corroborent, ut sciant ad defendendam Calchedonensem synodum aequali studio et concordi unitate nitendum"(*Coll. Grimanica* 94, 99).
[65] The only response letter that expressed direct opposition to the definition of Chalcedon, that of Amphilocius of Side, was excised from this collection. Most likely it was not the only letter that needed to be purged. E. Schwartz (*Praefatio* to Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum II, 5, XV) explained that many letters were omitted "consilio hominis cui epistularum quarum unum idemque erat argumentum, volumen ingens et incommodum videbatur." The example of Amphilocius, as well as various hesitant letters which are extant in the *Sangermanensis* (see below), show that this is probably not the correct explanation.

the matter of Chalcedon and its definition later in this chapter, and discuss here the opinions regarding Timothy expressed by the respondents to the *Codex*.

Almost all the bishops responding to the *Codex Encyclicus* affirmed or implied that they could not say anything more about the new bishop of Alexandria beyond what had been sent to them from Constantinople (i.e., the *libellus* of the Alexandrian Chalcedonian bishops).[66] Most of them suggested, more or less emphatically, that Timothy should be deposed, while some wrote that the decision belonged entirely to the emperor.[67] Several among the respondents to the *Codex Encyclicus* implied that the presentation of the events, as contained in the account of the Chalcedonian Egyptian bishops, might be biased, or, at least, that the truthfulness of the account of the Chalcedonian Egyptians was not beyond doubt.[68] Phrases such as "if the accusers are shown to have been truthful"[69] are frequently encountered. The bishops of Armenia I wrote that "the magnitude of the events that took place there does not grant the ability to come to a decision, since the fog of these sorrowful events darkens reason."[70]

The final word on Timothy's ordination, they all agreed, belonged to the emperor. But it seems that, to emperor Leo, the decision to be taken in Timothy's case was not entirely straightforward, even though Evagrius provides his readers with the image of a straightforward finale: "For these reasons Timothy was condemned to exile, and he too was

[66] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 8, 17-21. A. Grillmeier doesn't take this reserve to signify real doubt regarding the condemnation of Timothy; instead, he uses it to argue that "This gives us some right to take as honest and considered also the position expressed with regard to Chalcedon itself and its reception, even if the theological stand or the content of the christological statement as well is very dissappointing." A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 203-204.
[67] See, for example, *Coll. Sangermanensis* 31, 59-60 (Epiphanius of Perge), 25, 44 (Phoenicia I), and 26, 45 (Phoenicia II).
[68] *Ibid.*, 36, 69 (Armenia I) and 35, 68 (Evethius of Cyzicus).
[69] *Ibid.*, 41, 85 (Helenopontus). See also 36, 69 (Armenia I): "si vera sunt quae in precibus religiosissimorum episcoporum et clericorum Aegyptiacae diocesis continentur [...] quae, propter nimietatem, ut arbitror, non creduntur," and 27, 49 (Basil of Seleucia).
[70] *Ibid.*, 36, 69.

ordered to inhabit the city of Gangra. And so the Alexandrians appointed another Timothy as bishop to succeed Proterius."[71] Timothy, Evagrius explained, followed in the path of Dioscorus, both by way of his heretical inclination, and, consequently, by being exiled to Gangra just like his predecessor. However, the chain of events is not as easy to reconstitute as Evagrius would want us to believe, mostly because emperor Leo I did not handle this conflict in as clear-cut a manner as Marcian, his predecessor, would have.

Even Leo I's leanings in matters of Christology are far from being straightforward. Although traditionally presented as a Chalcedonian in most sources, both primary and secondary, his actions point to some degree of indecisiveness. His dealings with Timothy Aelurus, his original intention to summon a new council, and his surprisingly neutral tone in addressing the bishops in the *Codex Encyclicus* point to a certain hesitation. This hesitation is indeed difficult to qualify, and even the sources that do refer to it are rather vague on this subject. Zacharias described Leo in a slightly ambiguous manner as "a believer and vigorous, but simple in the faith."[72] He also mentioned that Leo "tried to correct the evils which were done in the days of Marcian," but "was hindered by the bishops."[73] The *Chronicle of Seert* provides a scenario that might explain Zacharias' uncertain feelings, but does not go into further detail: "He was brave; he embraced the orthodox faith of the Fathers of Chalcedon. Timothy the patriarch of Alexandria and his followers **tried to make him renounce his faith**. He refused; he even gathered fifty bishops to help him understand the faith of the 318

[71] *Evagrius*, II, 10, 93.
[72] *Zacharias* IV, 5, 69.
[73] *Ibid.*, IV, 7, 75.

[bishops]; he abided by the orthodox faith that they exposed to him, and exiled the dissidents."[74]

The events of the years 457-460 frame the emperor's position in a clearer manner. A long delay occurred between the arrival of the responses to the *Codex Encyclicus* in Constantinople (throughout 458) and Timothy's deposition (early 460). In addition to this, even though Timothy was deposed in early 460, we learn from two papal letters dated 17 June 460 that even then a new patriarch had not yet been appointed in Alexandria,[75] and that, moreover, Timothy was in Constantinople, and that there was talk of him being possibly redeemed and recalled.[76] This testimony is in fact consistent with Timothy's own statement in his *Letter to the Priest and Abbot Claudianus*, where he affirms that "the emperor summoned me from exile to offer advice on the tumultuous problems of the church, the solution of the heresies [...] and help on orthodox decrees," but then "the emperor who summoned me regretted it."[77] Timothy probably traveled from Alexandria to Constantinople along the coast of Phoenice[78] before he headed for Gangra, his initial place of exile.

[74] *Chronique de Séert* II, ed. Addai Scher, Patrologia Orientalis 7 (Paris: Firmin-Didot 1911), 103. Emphasis mine. Similarly, the *Chronicle of Seert* describes patriarch Anatolius as a chaste man, who "made Dioscorus believe that he was of the same faith as he," (*ibid.*, 104) but eventually turned out to be a strong supporter of Chalcedon, of Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. It is apparent, in light of further evidence (in particular, the papal correspondence of the period), that the *Chronicle* censored the anti-Chalcedonian tendencies manifested by patriarch Anatolius, just as it did with those of emperor Leo I; the apologetic tone adopted by the author of the *Chronicle of Seert* in both cases can be interpreted as further evidence in this sense.
[75] *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum Aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, 51 (to emperor Leo) and 52 (to Gennadius of Constantinople), ed. O. Guenther, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 35 (Prague: F. Tempsky 1895/1898), 117-120 (henceforth *Coll. Avellana*). Timothy Salophaciolus, Aelurus' successor, was ordained sometime between June and August of 460 (a papal letter addressed to him on 16 August is preserved (*Coll. Avellana* 53, 120-121)).
[76] *Coll. Avellana* 52 (119-120).
[77] Timothy, "Letters," 369. The letter was written from his exile in Cherson, and thus impossible to refer to his subsequent recall by Basiliscus.
[78] According to Zacharias, Timothy was warmly welcomed in the cities where he stopped, along the Phoenician coast and in Palestine (*Zacharias* IV, 9, 77-78). On occasions, he was received with public honours. He gave discourses on the faith, and supposedly performed miraculous healings (*Zacharias* IV, 9, 78). His popularity in these regions, if exaggerated by Zacharias, is nevertheless confirmed by the tone and content of Timothy's own literary production, which shows that his advice was considered authoritative not only in the whole of Egypt,

In two letters from 17 June 460 the pope expressed his deep concern about this issue, while emphasizing that, as far as he was concerned, Timothy's case was closed. No matter how many amendments he would make to his faith, *si etiam in professione fidei nihil hic neglegat, nihil fallat,*[79] his career was definitively compromised. The several months that passed from his deposition until his relegation to Gangra, as well as the references to attempts at bringing back Timothy, point to the fact that emperor Leo probably went to great lengths in his efforts to reach a compromise with Timothy, and, likely, Timothy was open to discussion, if not to compromise. Nevertheless, the correspondence in the *Collectio Avellana* seems to indicate that the emperor's endeavors were doomed to failure all along, since he could not have persuaded Rome of Timothy's worthiness, nor could he have formed an alliance – as Zeno did later – with the Constantinopolitan patriarch (the strongly-Chalcedonian Gennadius) against the Roman See.[80]

In fact, by the summer of 458, pope Leo's mind regarding Timothy had already been made up. Proterius' murderer, even if he repented and abandoned his wrong belief, could not be pardoned.[81] However, there are reasons to believe that Proterius' murder was a welcome pretext rather than the real motive. The manner in which the pope handled the case of Andrea, an alleged Eutychian whom Anatolius promoted to the rank of archdeacon in 453 to

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but also in Palestine (see Timothy's *Letter to Faustinus the deacon*, in Timothy, "Letters," 364-366; Faustinus is designated in the title of the letter as the "heir of the blessed Abbot Romanus").

[79] *Coll. Avellana* 51, 118.

[80] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 201, speculates that Timothy's fall from favour was related to a decline in Aspar's influence. Zacharias confirms that Aspar gave his help to the anti-Chalcedonians (see for example his support for Amphilocius of Side at IV, 7, 75).

[81] See *Coll. Avellana* 51, 117-118. See also discussion in A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 117.

replace the Chalcedonian Aetius,[82] makes it clear that, even when repenting, those associated with Eutychianism were not be allowed access into the Church hierarchy:

> he has shown himself in our eyes to be a defender of the Eutychian heresy. [...] **He should by no means be placed at the head of those who remained in faith, even though he may have become worthy through great penance.**[83]

Support for Timothy in the capital was probably non-negligible, so the pope could not argue his case in 458 against the patriarch of Alexandria in the same manner as he had previously done with Andrea. The imperial involvement in this affair called for prudence and diplomacy. The inauspicious incident involving Proterius played well into the pope's hands as a diplomatic cover-up.

The quandary emperor Leo had to face while looking for a solution more viable than Marcian's strictness[84] is well reflected in an episode – perhaps legendary – narrated in Zacharias' *Syriac Chronicle*. Timothy Salophaciolus, who replaced Timothy Aelurus in the see of Alexandria, allegedly engaged in a dispute with Gennadius of Constantinople (458-471), in front of emperor Leo, over the validity of Canon 28 of Chalcedon.[85] Timothy Salophaciolus said:

> "I do not accept the Synod which would make your see the next in importance to Rome, and cast contempt upon the honor of my see." **And the king laughed when he saw them,** and heard the two priests contending for the pre-eminence. And he wrote to tell about this dispute to the bishop of Rome.[86]

[82] Aetius was a fierce proponent of the Council of Chalcedon. He is reported by Zacharias to have beaten Amphilocius of Side, the famous anti-Chalcedonian, on the occasion of the Council of Chalcedon (*Zacharias* III, 1, 47), and to have collaborated with Theodoret of Cyrrhus on that same occasion (*Ibid.*, III, 1, 47).
[83] *Coll. Grimanica* 59, 64. Emphasis mine.
[84] It appears though that even Marcian's policy incorporated at times some of the elusiveness that would characterize the remainder of the fifth century. See *Coll. Sangermanensis* 1, 3-4; there Marcian, addressing the Alexandrians, represents Chalcedon as being simply a confirmation of Nicaea. The "two natures" phrase is not even mentioned.
[85] Canon 28, strongly opposed in Rome, declared Constantinople the first see in the East, giving it authority over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus. For the proceedings and commentary, see *The Acts*, vol. 3, 67-91.
[86] *Zacharias* IV, 10, 80.

This (real or imagined) reaction, not attested elsewhere, points to two elements that probably guided imperial policy and the course of events in 460: first, that emperor Leo I's relation with the patriarch Gennadius was, to say the least, not one of close collaboration, and, therefore, that his support of Chalcedon was loosely enough defined to allow for thoughts of a compromise with Timothy Aelurus; and second, that he held in esteem advice coming from Rome.[87]

Toward the end of 457 emperor Leo tried to engage the Chalcedonians and the anti-Chalcedonians in a face-to-face dialogue, and requested the presence of the pope in Constantinople. It is possible that Timothy himself had some involvement in this initiative.[88] However, the pope remained unyielding on this matter. He refused to attend or send legates to such a meeting, arguing that surrendering to such a request would only stimulate the heretics to act worse.[89] Chalcedon had confirmed the true faith as *inexpugnabilis firmitas*.[90] Further arguments on doctrine would have been superfluous as far as the pope was concerned. A letter dated 21 March 458 reveals that the pope did eventually send legates to Constantinople, but with the proviso that they were not to enter disputes with the heretics. Their presence in Constantinople should improve the instruction of those who are simple in the faith:

> Let your piety know in advance, O venerable emperor, that those whom I pledge to send will set out from the apostolic see not in order to argue with the enemies of the faith, nor to engage in fights with anybody; for with regard to the issues that have been settled at Nicaea and Chalcedon as was pleasing to God, we do not intend to engage in any discussion, as if those things that have been defined through the great authority of the Holy Spirit were uncertain or weak. But for the sake of the

[87] One could formulate a stronger interpretation: the fact that emperor Leo allegedly submitted this situation to the judgment of pope Leo, whose opposition to Canon 28 of Chalcedon had been had been strongly maintained and publicized for many years following Chalcedon, unwaveringly points to the emperor's lack of interest in maintaining Canon 28.
[88] *Coll. Grimanica* 97, 101: "praesentiam meam pietas vestra necessariam existimat."
[89] *Ibid.* 97, 102.
[90] *Ibid.* 97, 102.

> edification of our young children who, after the nourishment of milk, wish to feed themselves with more solid food, we do not deny the help of our ministry. However, just as we do not scorn those who are simple in spirit, we keep away from rebellious heretics.[91]

The real scope of the activity of the papal legates in Constantinople is not known. One could hypothesize that it was related to the pope's growing suspicions regarding the unhindered presence of what he calls "Eutychians" in the capital. From the case of Andrea in 453,[92] to more cases signaled in 457,[93] and in March of 458,[94] when he also announced having sent legates to Constantinople, pope Leo grew more and more uneasy over the presence of "Eutyches' followers" in the capital, all the more so since patriarch Anatolius seemed not to act very zealously in disciplining them.[95]

Timothy was eventually sent into exile to Gangra, probably in the summer of 460. As Zacharias retells the story, he left from Alexandria, but, in view of the details discussed above, it is more likely that Constantinople was the city of departure. He remained in Gangra until 464, and was afterwards relegated to Cherson, "a secluded place in the Pontus."[96] According to Zacharias, it was Gennadius' intervention that caused this.[97] The sources do not reveal anything about a possible involvement of the Roman See in sending Timothy farther away, but it is quite likely that such involvement existed. Letters from pope Simplicius to emperor Zeno and to patriarch Acacius of Constantinople in 475 demonstrate that Rome continued to express opposition vocally after the recall of the Alexandrian, and to follow very closely the development of events in the capital.[98]

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[91] *Coll. Grimanica* 99, 106.
[92] *Ibid.* 59, 64.
[93] *Ibid.* 95, 100.
[94] *Ibid.* 97, 104.
[95] *Ibid.* 97, 104; 102, 110.
[96] *Coll. Avellana* 99 (*Gesta de nomine Acaci*), 440-452, here 446.
[97] *Zacharias* IV, 11, 80.
[98] *Coll. Avellana* 56, 124-129; 57, 129-130; 58, 130-133; 59, 133-135.

Zacharias retells how an opposition to Gennadius was formed in this period in Constantinople under the leadership of Acacius, the future patriarch, at that time the Master of the Orphans, and a supporter of Timothy.[99]

Soon after Basiliscus' coup d'état in 475,[100] Timothy was recalled.[101] He subscribed to – or perhaps even helped with the composition of – the *Encyclical*, a document drawn up with the intention of bringing unity and peace to the Church by reversing the decisions made at Chalcedon in 451.[102] A break occurred between Timothy and Acacius at this time. The explanation given by Zacharias is that Acacius feared that he would be overthrown in favor of one of Timothy's supporters.[103] This may well be true, but the *Encyclical* and the foreseeable consequences of its implementation, in particular the potential invalidation of Canon 28 of Chalcedon as a result of the annulment of the Council, probably played an important role in Acacius' change of position as well. As mentioned above, Acacius was in agreement with the Christological line promoted by Timothy, and sanctioned by the *Encyclical* (rejection of Chalcedon and of pope Leo's *Tome*), but dissociated himself from

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[99] *Zacharias* IV, 11, 80. "those persons who understood the matter left Gennadius of Constantinople and joined in communion with Acacius the presbyter and Master of the Orphans, the brother of Timocletus the composer, who joined the believers, and strenuously opposed the Nestorians; and he also set verses to music, and they used to sing them. And the people were delighted with them, and they flocked in crowds to the Orphan Hospital."

[100] Basiliscus came down in history as the Usurper, but he was in fact recognized as a legitimate emperor, including in the West (J. Prostko-Prostyński, "Basiliskos: Ein in Rom anerkannter Usurpator," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 133 (2000): 259-265; his image of evil conspirator was largely tailored by Chalcedonian authors (although Evagrius (III, 2, 132-133) is extremely "mild" in his presentation of Basiliscus' ascension: "When Basiliscus the brother of Verina revolted against him – for even his relatives were hostile to him, since everyone shunned his most shameful life [Zeno, that is] – he completely failed to contemplate anything courageous [...] And so once Basiliscus had thus acquired the crown of the Roman realm and proclaimed his son Marcus as Caesar, he proceeded in the opposite direction to Zeno and those who had ruled previously"); as a consequence of his association with the "usurper," Timothy's portrayal received a new dimension of illegitimacy.

[101] In 475, a delegation of Alexandrian monks met with Basiliscus and obtained Timothy's return (see *Zacharias* V, 1, 104-105). According to Zacharias, Theoctistus, the brother of one of the members of the delegation, Theopompus the monk, was master of offices at that time. Zacharias also emphasizes that Acacius sided with Timothy on this occasion, "preparing a lodging for him at the church called Irene" and "setting apart some of his own clergy for his retinue and service." (*Zacharias* V, 1, 105)

[102] It seems that the *Encyclical* was drafted by one of the members of the Alexandrian delegation, the monk Paul, "a rhetorician and a sophist." (*Zacharias* V, 1, 105). See discussion in Chapter 2.

[103] Theopomus the monk, the brother of the master of offices (*Zacharias* V, 1, 105).

this line of action for the simple reason that a full anathematization of Chalcedon would have materialized in a loss of rights for his see.

With the situation in Constantinople becoming less favourable to him, Timothy left for Ephesus, where he established Paul, an anti-Chalcedonian, as bishop, and he temporarily restored to the see of Ephesus the territorial influence that the Council of Chalcedon had taken away from it in favour of Constantinople.[104] He then returned to Alexandria, where he was enthusiastically received, and where he replaced Timothy Salophaciolus until his death in 477.

2. The Canon of Orthodoxy: Early Evidence for a Neo-Chalcedonian Position

The period immediately following Chalcedon saw the emergence of a number of elements that were subsequently incorporated in a moderate pro-Chalcedonian position that flourished in the beginning of the sixth century, and was dubbed neo-Chalcedonianism. Sketching these elements here will help us understand better the context in which Theopaschite discourse emerged, and how its reception developed, in the aftermath of Chalcedon. The anti-Chalcedonian promotion of Theopaschite discourse, which took shape alongside these neo-Chalcedonian elements in the aftermath of Chalcedon, would eventually become an integral part of neo-Chalcedonian discourse starting from the end of the fifth century. Framed by the relatively permissive general context outlined below, Theopaschism was also adopted from an early date by Dyophysite authors.

A neo-Chalcedonian opinion *avant la lettre* can be found in Vigilius of Thapsus,[105] a contemporary African author of Chalcedonian persuasion: Vigilius affirmed that the

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[104] *Zacharias* V, 4, 110.
[105] See *infra*, section 3.2.

Miaphysites – their stubbornness in rejecting the words "two natures" left aside – were essentially orthodox.[106] Arnobius Junior,[107] a Chalcedonian living in Rome around the same time, makes a similar affirmation:

> Blind madness travels in the whole Christian community through bishops, through priests, through deacons, through clerics, through archimandrites, through almost all the crowds of innumerable monks. The whole of Egypt, the whole of Palestine are so troubled, that the shedding of human blood drenched the land itself; and **the reason is that of rumor alone, and by no means of any error**. For, even though Cyril's doctrine is pleasing to all Egyptians and Syrians, there is such great insanity which rages against brothers, so much so that it inflicts punishment [upon them] **even though the whole brotherhood of nations is of the same confession, and of the same faith.**[108]

The response letters to the *Codex Encyclicus* contain another neo-Chalcedonian idea, very common toward the end of the fifth century, namely that the formula of Chalcedon was not meant to function as a definition of faith, but simply as an explanation, an interpretation, an instrument for warding off heretics. Moreover, as one of the respondents to the *Codex Encyclicus* adds, the formula of Chalcedon, just as pope Leo's *Tome*, was not intended for common lay people, but for *members of the clergy only*. In other words, the formula and the *Tome* are circumscribed by various provisos, and their bearing is reduced to a minimum.

> It was written by pope Leo and by the holy Council of Chalcedon not for the lay people, so as to raise scandal through this, but only for priests, so that they have what they need to fight the opposing beliefs.[109]

The opinions expressed in the replies to the *Codex Encyclicus* regarding the orthodoxy of pope Leo's *Tome* are diverse. Whether Leo's doctrine was in perfect agreement with that of Cyril of Alexandria is the central element.

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[106] E.g., Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, X, Patrologia Latina 62 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1848), col. 0095-0154, here col. 0110B.
[107] See *infra*, 61.
[108] Arnobius Junior, *Conflictus cum Serapione* II, 19, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 25A, ed. K.-D. Daur (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 47-173 (text accessed at Brepolis online Library of Latin Texts; http://clt.brepolis.net). Emphasis mine.
[109] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 31, 59 (Epiphanius of Perge).

There is also a set of initiatives that, even though different in their details, could be grouped under the common heading of "reasoning with Leo." There existed attempts in the aftermath of Chalcedon to obtain from Rome corrections to the *Tome*. Timothy, for example, as already mentioned, wanted to meet Roman representatives in order to convince them that a rectification of Chalcedon and the *Tome* was necessary. Moreover, a writing of his preserved by Zacharias in the *Syriac Chronicle* indicates that Timothy was trying to amend the situation while at the same time avoiding further tumult, and that he was relying on the help of emperor Leo in this matter:

> But when Diomedes, the distinguished Silentiarius, came to me and gave me the letter of the bishop of Rome, and I studied it, and I was not pleased with its contents; then lest the Church, O Christ-loving man, should be disturbed, **I neither, as yet, have publicly read nor censured it**. But I believe that **God has put it into the mind of your Serenity to set right the statements in this letter, which are a cause of stumbling to the believers**; for these statements are in accord, and agreement, and conjunction with the doctrine of Nestorius.[110]

One of the respondents to emperor Leo's circular, Epiphanius of Perge, suggested that the pope Leo should write a sort of "guide" to understanding the *Tome*, to the effect that the content of this writing was meant to correct the heresy of those who denied the true Incarnation of the Lord, and that its purpose was limited to just that:[111]

> Let this same most holy man [Leo] indicate in letters that the *Tome* which he then sent to our archbishop Flavian of holy memory and what was declared by the holy council is not a creed, nor a definition [of faith], but rather an admonishment of

[110] *Zacharias* IV, 6, 73.

[111] If Zacharias (IV, 7, 75) mentions only the response of Amphilocius of Side as having expressed opposition against Chalcedon (John of Nikiu adds also Eusthatius of Berytus, who "told the emperor that through fear of Marcian they had altered the faith so that all the world was troubled (thereby), as well as all the churches." LXXXVIII, 18, 111, accessed at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/nikiu2_chronicle.htm . Retrieved 20 Feb. 2007), it is probably because Amphilocius' response was most polemically opposed to Chalcedon, and not because it was the only one; as has been shown here, the reserves regarding Chalcedon and the *Tome* were actually widespread among the bishops responding to the *Codex Encyclicus*. (Amphilocius' letter was perhaps the only one with far-reaching consequences, and it was perhaps for this reason that it remained the only one to be mentioned by contemporary historians: Zacharias writes that it attracted Aspar's involvement on the side of the anti-Chalcedonians (IV, 7, 75); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 5952, 172, claims that Aspar was also opposed to patriarch Gennadius' actions against Timothy).

> heretical depravity; at the same time, that which was said by the [holy fathers], "in two natures," which perhaps is understood to be questionable, let it be most openly indicated in these writings that it was set forth by the fathers on account of those who deny the true Incarnation of the Word of God, so that there would be no transgression against the holy synod in anything.[112]

The idea of "reasoning with Leo" is also present in a story found in Zacharias' *Syriac Chronicle*. Describing the situation in Alexandria after the consecration of Timothy, Zacharias recounts that

> the presbyters and all the clergy belonging to the Proterian party, since they knew all his virtues and his angelic mode of life, and the devotion of the citizens to him, joined themselves together and made libels in which they entreated him that they might be received. **They also promised that they would go to Rome to Leo, and admonish him concerning the novelties which he had written in the *Tome*.**[113]

That pope Leo was pressured to provide explanations regarding the content of the *Tome* and guidelines for interpretation, as several papal letters in the *Collectio Grimanica* also attest,[114] demonstrates that serious doubts regarding the orthodoxy of the *Tome* subsisted in the aftermath of Chalcedon, and that Timothy's criticisms probably appealed to many people from various positions in the Christological spectrum.

The response letters to emperor Leo's *Codex Encyclicus* contain a variety of other neo-Chalcedonian elements. The idea that there is no real difference in content between the formulas "in two natures," "from two natures," and "one incarnate nature" – central to Neo-Chalcedonianism – is emphatically expressed in the response letter of the bishops from Armenia I:

> There is no difference whether one professes an unconfused union of two natures, or whether one sets forth in the same way "from two natures." **For he does not mean something else when he says one nature and adds "incarnate," but declares the**

[112] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 31, 59 (Epiphanius of Perge).
[113] *Zacharias*, IV, 3, 68. Emphasis mine.
[114] See *Coll. Grimanica* 74, 84; 75, 85; 77, 87; 93, 99.

> **same in a very honest discourse**; we find very often that the holy fathers in the empire of your piety have said what this means.[115]

The same bishops formulate their reservations concerning the formula of Chalcedon in this way:

> There are some things in the definition which, <if> they are understood correctly, are orthodox; but if somebody wants to look at them differently, he will find that this [definition] acquires dubious meanings.[116]

The predictive character of these affirmations is striking. Striking as well is the fact that even a collection as purged and as ideologically-oriented as the Sangermanensis, which contains the response letters to the *Codex Encyclicus*, and other materials produced in the same context, has preserved such affirmations. It raises questions about the original number of letters that contained this type of statement, or, perhaps, even stronger ones.

Conflicts over textual traditions further fired the debates of this period,[117] and opened the way for a characteristic neo-Chalcedonian inclination toward textual criticism. It also opened the way for a conflict between Chalcedonians and Miaphysites over Cyril of Alexandria's legacy, which would continue between neo-Chalcedonians and Miaphysites at the beginning of the sixth century. Theophanes relates a story heard from Peter, an Alexandrian priest, about Timothy's use of Cyrillian texts that were otherwise unknown to his contemporaries. He also suggests that Timothy took advantage of these texts' not being widely known, and altered their content: "Discovering unedited writings of the great Cyril, Timothy Aelurus falsified them in many places."[118] Timothy, in his turn, accused the Council

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[115] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 36, 70 (Armenia I). Emphasis mine.
[116] *Ibid.* 36, 70.
[117] This aspect would become increasingly more detrimental to the Miaphysites, to such an extent that in the early sixth century they would often find themselves in extremely delicate situations.
[118] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 5950, 170. "Timothy the Cat, after discovering some unpublished writings of Cyril the Great, falsified them in many places."

of Chalcedon of having censured Cyril's writings in order to make the latter's doctrine fit their intentions:

> Why, when you have declared authoritative the ancient faith of the saints, mentioning together with them the Council of the 150, did you not mention now the holy Council of Ephesus, which deposed Nestorius, but you mentioned only some synodal letters in such a way as to be able to add to them the unruly writing, that is to say the letter of Leo, which was properly called the *Tome* since it divided the Church.[119]

From the Chalcedonian side, Arnobius Junior hints at such accusations in the words of Serapion, his Miaphysite opponent in the *Conflictus cum Serapione*: "I most rightfully consider you a Nestorian, all the more so because you did not mention at all the books of the holy bishop Cyril about Nestorius; for he wrote many things against Nestorius in orthodox style."[120] As is the case with other points discussed in the *Conflictus*, Arnobius exaggerates Serapion's objections. Clearly, the dispute was not about the Dyophysite party using subterfuges to bypass Cyril, but rather about them creating a biased selection among Cyril's texts.

Vigilius of Thapsus seems to be countering the same accusation when he writes: "They say that the [Chalcedonians] mention the letters of Cyril and Leo together deceitfully, so that by this trick of subtlety they lie about them agreeing to each other, when it is [presumably] clear that they stand in contradiction to each other."[121] The opposition, Vigilius explains, argues that the *Tome* contradicts the Christology of Cyril's *Anathemas*. Surprisingly, the African bishop chooses to disprove this accusation by attempting to reconcile Leo's "For each form does what is proper to it with the co-operation of the other; that is the Word performing what appertains to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what appertains to the flesh. One of them sparkles with miracles, the other succumbs to

[119] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 226.
[120] Arnobius Junior, *Conflictus* II, 13.
[121] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* V, XVIX, col. 0149A.

injuries,"[122] one of the pope's statements most harshly reproved by Timothy Aelurus, with Cyril's Fourth and Eleventh Anathemas,[123] concluding that Leo's Christology is compatible with that of the *Anathemas*.

This type of textual association was not unprecedented. In their reply to the *Codex Encyclicus*, the bishops of Armenia I describe Chalcedon as a council that rejected the "unspeakable madness of Nestorius,"[124] and that confirmed Nicaea and Ephesus. What is more, they state that Cyril's *Anathemas* had been approved at Ephesus ("*firmata atque roborata*").[125] Thus, Chalcedon itself comes off as a council that officially endorsed Cyril's *Anathemas*. It would take a while before the matter of textual traditions could be exploited in disputes extensively, and be treated more methodically (the peak of this type of argumentation would have to wait until the reign of Justinian). For the moment, this state of confusion certainly played on the side of the anti-Chalcedonians, together with the general permissiveness that accompanied it in the East following Chalcedon. The anti-Chalcedonians used all this to promote Theopaschite discourse, and their strategies, analyzed in the following section, were not without success.

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[122] Pope Leo, *Letter XXVIII, The Tome to Flavian*, in *The Letters and Sermons of Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome*, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, tr. C. Lett Feltoe, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series II, volume XII (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995; originally published in 1895), 38-43, here 40-41. "Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est. Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est et carne exsequente quod carnis est: unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis" (see A. Grillmeier, *CCT* I, 534).
[123] See Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* V, XVIX-XX, col. 0149B-0150C. Fourth Anathema: "Si quis personis duabus, seu substantiis, quae de Christo in evangelicis et apostolicis litteris dictae sunt, dividit voces; et quasdam quidem ut homini, extra Dei Patris, videlicet Verbo specialiter cognoscendo assignat; alias autem ut Deo dignas, soli qui ex Patre est, Deo Verbo, anathema sit." And Eleventh Anathema: "Si quis non confitetur Domini carnem, vivificantem et propriam esse eius qui ex Deo Patre est, Verbi; sed alterius cuiusdam coniuncti ei secundum dignitatem, tanquam divinam solam inhabitationem habentis; et non magis vivificantem, ut dixi, quia facta est propria Verbi qui omnia vivificat, anathema sit." The argument oversimplifies the dispute in an attempt to reconcile the passage from the *Tome* with these texts: for example, Leo's "cooperatur enim unaquaeque natura cum communione alterius" is in agreement with the Fourth Anathema, since "what is shown in these [words] is that Christ is not divided in two persons" (*Contra Eutychen* V, XIX, col. 0149C).
[124] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 36, 70.
[125] *Ibid.*, 36, 70. Before the publication of the *Henoticon* in 482, it was only the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 that sanctioned Cyril's *Anathemas*.

3. Theopaschism in the Aftermath of Chalcedon

As during the period preceding Chalcedon, so in its aftermath the use of Theopaschite language attaches to the strict Cyrillians, to those who, in this period, refused to use the phrases "two natures after the union" or "in two natures" in their discourse on the Incarnation, and who, as a consequence, came to be known in history as "Monophysites." Against them were formulated the same accusations that had been brought earlier against Cyril and Eutyches, namely that they confused the divinity and the humanity in Christ, that they introduced suffering into the divinity, and that they rejected the double consubstantiality, maintaining that Christ's body came down from heaven. However, in opposition with the previous period, debates over the correctness of Theopaschite language are virtually non-existent.

The opposition to Theopaschite language certainly persisted in this period, but, unlike what happened before Chalcedon, arguments directed specifically against Theopaschism, and the history of the ensuing conflicts, are almost impossible to document. This situation can be explained to some extent by the fact that, in contrast with the rich textual evidence from the first half of the fifth century, few sources from the aftermath of Chalcedon have been preserved that contain direct, explicit attacks on Theopaschite formulas, or, more generally, Theopaschite language. In fact, aside from pope Leo's later correspondence,[126] and a few letters originating in Constantinople or elsewhere in the Eastern part of the empire, there are very few extant writings from the Chalcedonian side altogether.[127] The modifications in the

[126] Even here there are some lacunas that puzzle. There is a surprising lack of papal correspondence with the East for the years 455-457 (see P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 116).
[127] The most significant one in the context of the present study is Vigilius of Thapsus' *Contra Eutychen*. Fragments from writings attributed to patriarch Gennadius of Constantinople are also extant (F. Diekamp,

balance of forces between strict-Cyrillians and Antiochians after the Council of Chalcedon also accounts to some extent for this situation.

It is mainly[128] from the writings of Timothy Aelurus that the fate of Theopaschite discourse in this period can be revealed. Although Theopaschism appears to have left the stage of open Christological debate after Chalcedon, it emerged in the works of Aelurus in a different way, namely as the *modus narrandi* par excellence of the anti-Chalcedonian discourse on the Incarnation.

Used as expositional language or condensed in formulaic idioms, Theopaschite content burgeoned in the works of Timothy Aelurus, even though the apparent lack of polemic that surrounded its use makes it less conspicuous. It was used by the Alexandrian with confident naturalness – a naturalness which is rather surprising, given the tormented past of this type of discourse, but which, as I argue in the following section, functioned to a certain extent as a rhetorical strategy, and had a vast polemical potential.

While the language of natures plays an important part in Timothy's writings, in particular in those against the Dyophysites, what holds together most frequently his discourse on the Incarnation is Theopaschism. With Timothy, Theopaschism surfaces as the imagery underlying – to the point of rendering inadequate – the technical language of natures. It is vivid, powerful imagery, adding significant weight to the importance of defining clearly and using properly the concept of "nature" in Christology. Timothy Aelurus gave Theopaschism a new life, by presenting it as the most natural mode of discourse on the Incarnation, by not

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Analecta Patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938), 54-108).

[128] The other main author included in the present discussion is Vigilius of Thapsus. The responses to emperor Leo's *Codex Encyclicus*, the papal correspondence of the period, and historical writings are all useful – if succinct – materials for the study of Theopaschism in the aftermath of Chalcedon, and, more importantly, for situating this study in a political and historical context.

making any references to its controversial past, and by taking up a non-defensive attitude when using it.

There is evidence from the Chalcedonian side – in particular Vigilius of Thapsus' *Contra Eutychen*, analyzed later in this chapter – showing that Timothy's strategy was to some extent effective, and that it made Dyophysite Christology more permeable to Theopaschism. Doubtless, Timothy must have been aware of the troubled history of Theopaschism. His choice not to acknowledge it was probably deliberate, allowing the Alexandrian to grant Theopaschism a "fresh start," a real chance to prevail over the Dyophysites' resistance to it. In the larger picture, Timothy opened the way for a phrase such as "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" (frequently employed by him)[129] to eventually become a condition for orthodoxy in the beginning of the sixth century.[130]

Similarly rhetorical is Timothy's reduced use of Theopaschite elements in his writings against the Phantasiasts.[131] Had Theopaschism been, in Timothy's eyes, the established *modus narrandi* of the Incarnation (as the writings against the Dyophysites seem to indicate), then it would have probably been no less widespread in his writings against the Phantasiasts. However, the Phantasiasts' refusal to admit Christ's double consubstantiality brought Theopaschite discourse dangerously close to what its detractors took it to mean,

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[129] Sometimes with certain variations. For example, Zacharias quotes the petition Timothy sent to Constantinople as a reaction to pope Leo's *Second Tome* (August 458; *Coll. Grimanica* 104, 113-131) in which he wishes that "Christ may be purely confessed by all tongues that He truly suffered in the flesh; while He remained without suffering in His Godhead, which He has with the Father and the Spirit." (IV, 6, 73)

[130] After the lobbying of the Scythian monks in Constantinople in 519-20, Justinian adopted this formula; a number of decrees followed in 533, making it a condition for orthodoxy. See Epilogue.

[131] The term is used most frequently to denote the Aphthartodocetists of the sixth century. According to Timothy Aelurus, from the Phantasiasts of his time, some affirmed that "our Lord's incarnation was illusion, imagination and unreal" (Timothy, "Letters," 367), while others more elusively taught that "the body of our Lord and God Jesus Christ is uncreated, [...] that God the Word was not ineffably incarnate from the Virgin, Mother of God, sharing blood and flesh in our likeness." (Timothy, "Letters," 367) He uses the term "Phantasiasts" to refer to the Eutychians, in an attempt, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, to dissociate himself and his party more emphatically from the disgraced persona of Eutyches. The Phantasiasts, however, are attributed heretical beliefs which are exactly those imputed to Eutyches, chief among which is the refusal to admit the double consubstantiality (see Timothy, "Letters," 351-352).

namely introducing suffering in the divinity. It was for this reason that Timothy wanted, as argued below, to detach Theopaschite language from them, in order not to compromise it.

3.1. Theopaschism in the Works of Timothy Aelurus

3.1.1. Theopaschism in Timothy's Writings against the Dyophysites[132]

J. Lebon was the first scholar to give us a relatively fair presentation of Timothy Aelurus' Christology. In his article "La Christologie de Timothée Aelure, archevèque monophysite d'Alexandrie, d'après les sources syriaques inédites,"[133] he pointed out that Timothy acknowledged Christ's real humanity, complete with a rational soul, while at the same time rejecting the idea of there having been mixture or confusion of the humanity and divinity.[134]

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[132] A refutation of the definition of Chalcedon (B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156, f. 39v.-42v., ed. and tr. in F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 218-236) and the refutation of pope Leo's *Tome* (B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156, f. 42v.-51v.; ed. and tr. in R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 119-139 and 143-163; f. 51v.-59v. bring in fragments from the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus as evidence). These two works are followed in the Syriac manuscript by a common conclusion (f. 59v.-61r.; R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 139-142, 163-166). For the dating of these two works, see J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (Leuven: J. Van Linthout, 1909), 93-95; they were apparently composed after the death of Dioscorus (454), but before Timothy's exile (460). The refutation of the definition of Chalcedon may have been composed as early as the first half of 457, since it is mentioned in a papal letter of September 457 (*Coll. Grimanica* 91, 98). Two letters sent to the emperor (one through Diomedes the Silentiarius, preserved in *Zacharias* IV, 6, 71-74, expressing Timothy's feelings concerning pope Leo's *Second Tome* (written probably in the second half of 458), and the other one through Rusticus, preserved in B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156, f. 62r ; tr. in F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 241-247). A prayer for the reception to communion of repenting Dyophysites (f. 61v.; ed. and tr. in F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 238-239). A letter sent to Egypt, Thebaid and Pentapolis, f. 34r.-35r.; ed. and tr. in Timothy, "Letters," 341-343 and 362-364). A work composed after 460 (and probably during his exile at Cherson; see J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien*, 98-103) is a renewed refutation of the *Tome* and of the Council of Chalcedon (B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156, f. 1v.-29v.; also preserved in Armenian, K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timotheus Aelurus, des Patriarchen von Alexandrien, Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre. Armenischer Text* (Leipzig, 1908)).

[133] In *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 8 (1908): 677-702. Lebon's evaluation is a close textual analysis, in which the confessional bias is largely suppressed; a brief "apologetic" note comes at the end of the article: "[...] la pensée de Timothée Aelure se rattache parfaitement à un système christologique bien caractérisé, élaboré et défendu par une école théologique que l'Église n'a point condamnée," but **"L'Église exige encore que ses enfants acceptent la formule dogmatique qu'elle leur impose: le Christ est *une personne* en *deux natures*; il y a *deux natures* dans sa *personne unique*. Elle a vu le danger qui pouvait résulter de l'exagération des tendances alexandrines, car une partie au moins de leurs partisans a versé dans l'hérésie.** Mais la formule occidentale et chalcédonienne rencontrait en Orient bien des esprits peu préparés à en saisir exactement la valeur réelle." (J. Lebon, "La Christologie," 701).

[134] For a summary of these points, see J. Lebon, "La Christologie," 701.

Timothy understood the concept of "nature" as signifying a concrete bring, an individual.[135] In order to preserve the unity in Christ, therefore, one has to say "one incarnate nature of God the Word." A duality of natures, in his view, signified a duality of persons.

In analyzing Timothy's writings against the Dyophysites, one can notice that the majority of his objections against this group, and against pope Leo in particular, are either formulated in Theopaschite language, or appended, by way of support, with Theopaschite phrases. Moreover, he often endows these phrases with a formulaic character.

To Timothy, the concept of nature, central to contemporary Christological discourse, is very important in so far as it affects one's understanding of the unity of subject in the Incarnation, and, thus, one's views on how salvation functions. He therefore often criticizes the Dyophysite tendency to preserve the properties of each nature after the union.

The desire to emphasize the oneness of subject, in turn, brings the author to some of his most powerful Christological statements, often formulated in Theopaschite language, and characterized by dramatically paradoxical undertones:

> To the same incarnate Word of God's nature belong hanging on the cross and causing all creation to shake at fear of his voice, being pierced with nails and opening Paradise's gates before all men to the thief. [...] In the same way, therefore, it belongs to the same nature to say "my Father and I are one" and "my Father is greater than me."[136]

and:

> The incarnate God the Word whom they saw, therefore, hung on the wood, was pierced by nails and his side was riven by the soldier's lance.[137]

[135] On the meaning of "nature" in Timothy's writings, see J. Lebon, "La Christologie," 689-690 and 695-697.
[136] R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 151-2.
[137] *Ibid.*, 156. In answer to pope Leo's: "Let him consider what nature pierced with nails hung crucified on the wood and let him understand whence the blood and water flowed when the side of him who was fixed on the cross was riven by the soldier's lance."

Texts concerning the oneness of subject in Christ are moreover brought to Theopaschism as their only natural conclusion:

> But if (as he said before) he who was incarnate of Mary the Mother of God is the Father's eternal Word and he who was born of her is God and there is one person of God the Word incarnate, **the incarnate died in the flesh for the salvation of the world.**[138]

Timothy's favorite Theopaschite phrase is "God suffered in his flesh," the same that would incite and trouble theological writers and statesmen in the beginning of the sixth century. It appears, with some variation, time and again in his refutation of pope Leo's *Tome*,[139] and quite frequently in the rest of his writings against the Dyophysites.

It is a phrase anchored in tradition, Timothy tells us, the message of which is preserved in the writings of the Fathers:

> And all the holy bishops of the churches, and the archbishops who were doctors of the orthodox faith in the period from the coming of our Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ, to our own times, confess that he was God who was born of the Holy Virgin, and who was truly man, without change or confusion, while he remained God all along. They say that he is one with his flesh, and they attribute to him all that belongs to God as well as the human characteristics, **calling God him who suffered in his flesh**, who was resurrected and went to heaven and who will come to judge the living and the dead.[140]

Little is preserved from the writings of Timothy's predecessor, Dioscorus – certainly not enough to allow us to map with precision the manner in which he treated Theopaschism in his writings. Certain passages quoted by Timothy Aelurus, however, allow us to infer that Dioscorus had followed a very similar line of argumentation:

> So he who was born is God, he who was crowned with thorns is God, he who was nurtured with milk is God, he who endures on our behalf all things save only sin is God for "He did no sin neither was guile found in his mouth." **He who was crucified and tasted death in his flesh is God**, He who was buried, rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven and will come again to judge both the quick and the dead, of

[138] R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 147. Emphasis mine.
[139] See, for example, *Ibid.*, 154, 156.
[140] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 203. Emphasis mine.

> whose kingdom there shall be no end is God. This is he who, speaking to his disciples, ordained by his new covenant that they should proclaim his death through the sacrament until he should come at his second advent and requite everybody according to his deeds.[141]

Correspondence carried out between Dioscorus of Alexandria and Domnus of Antioch before the Second Council of Ephesus also attests to the fact that Dioscorus was indeed supporting the use of Theopaschite language. Domnus criticized Dioscorus for having given his support to a group of monks who, at the time of the celebration of the Eucharist, were affirming before the congregation that "God died."[142] Moreover, Dioscorus has been identified as the likely adversary of Theodoret in *Eranistes*.[143] Characteristic of this opponent was a very resolute use of Theopaschite language, and a firm support for Cyril of Alexandria's phrase "God suffered impassibly."

One of the recurring accusations brought by Timothy against the Dyophysites in the context of Theopaschism is that too keen an inquisition into the mystery of the Incarnation brings them to a misrepresentation of this mystery. The attitude to be adopted by all is that recommended by John Chrysostom, whom Timothy quotes in his refutation of pope Leo's *Tome*:

> But instead of the sun, the Virgin contained without limitation the sun of righteousness. **Do not ask how! For where God wills, nature's order is conquered by him.**[144]

A citation from Gregory the Theologian, apparently not attested elsewhere, expresses the same idea in a more compressed, and, at the same time, striking turn of phrase: "We needed a God who becomes incarnate and dies."[145]

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[141] Dioscorus (quoted in the refutation of the *Tome*; R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 162). Emphasis mine.
[142] S.G.F. Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, 354.
[143] Theodoret, *Eranistes*, "Introduction," 10.
[144] John Chrysostom, *Sermon on the Divine Incarnation.* R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 156. Emphasis mine. This is a point Cyril of Alexandria himself emphasized again and again in addressing Nestorius and the Antiochians.

Other quotations from the Fathers that are brought in by Timothy against the Dyophysites also focus on Theopaschism, such as the following, from Gregory Thaumaturgus:

> Whosoever says that there was One Who suffered and Another Who did not suffer, and does not confess God the Word, Himself impassible, to have suffered in His flesh, as it is written: let him be accursed.[146]

Timothy associates pope Leo with Nestorius on numerous occasions in his refutation of the *Tome*, and, on numerous occasions, the underlying basis for this association is the refusal of both to acknowledge that God the Word suffered:

> But the advocate of Nestorius' teachings says: "Let him not deny therefore that he whom he has recognized to have been passible is man," although St. Paul said that Christ is passible, that he died, was buried, rose from the dead and that "from the fathers is Christ in the flesh who is God over all blessed for ever Amen." **But it is supposed by this doctor that we should call the man on his own "passible" so that he should be different from God the Word. But Nestorius too said: "The temple is passible not the God who gave life to him who suffered."**[147]

To the emperor, he recommended that pope Leo's *Second Tome* ought to be rejected as Nestorian, and that, to distance oneself from this heretical position, one ought to confess that "God Christ [...] **truly suffered in the flesh**; while He remained without suffering in His Godhead, which He has with the Father and the Spirit."[148]

Interestingly, Timothy does not address the problem of Theopaschism by way of rejecting objections raised by the Dyophysites against it, objections which, no doubt, had not vanished with the disappearance from the theological stage of a Nestorius or a Theodoret. This was very likely a rhetorical strategy: he intentionally played down the magnitude of

145 R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 158.
146 *Zacharias* IV, 12, 87.
147 R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 155. Emphasis mine
148 *Zacharias* IV, 6, 73. Emphasis mine.

these objections by avoiding them altogether, and, thus, he gave Theopaschism what could be called a "fresh start."

On very rare occasions, however, he hints at accusations of Theopaschism brought against him and his party. Thus, in a letter sent to Constantinople through the silentiarius Diomedes, Timothy distances himself from various heretical positions, and, among others, from those who believed that God the Word suffered in His own nature.[149]

His audience included, most likely, both Miaphysites and Dyophysites,[150] with the former being probably preponderant. Re-inventing the history of Theopaschism was important for both segments of his audience: for the Miaphysites, to strengthen their belief in the righteousness of their cause, and to prevent defections; more importantly, for the Dyophysites, to make them more permeable to this type of discourse.

Timothy's analysis and refutation of the definition of Chalcedon in B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156 (f. 39v.-42v.) deals with each section of the definition individually. Quite a few sections receive extensive treatment.[151] However, when he reaches the section that mentions Theopaschism ("Others have introduced confusion and mixture, and they have foolishly imagined that the nature of the flesh and that of the divinity are one and the same; and they have assumed that in the confusion [of natures] **the divine nature of the Only Begotten was passible**."[152]), Timothy's reply to this contains no reference to the Theopaschite issue. It was certainly not lack of interest in the matter that prompted this attitude, but the already-mentioned intention to conceal the extent of the – or even the existence of – accusations of

[149] *Zacharias* IV, 6, 72.
[150] That he was trying to influence Chalcedonians as well, not only his own partisans, is further confirmed by the great interest he invested in the rehabilitation of repentant Dyophysites, by his desire to enter a dialogue with representatives of the pope, and by his continuous interaction with the court in Constantinople. Moreover, authors such as Vigilius of Thapsus (see *infra*) demonstrate that Timothy's works were indeed circulated in Dyophysite circles.
[151] See F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 218-236.
[152] *Ibid.*, 225. Emphasis mine.

Theopaschism levelled against the anti-Chalcedonians, as well as the vague condemnation of this type language in the definition of Chalcedon.

More obscure in its logic, but probably motivated by the same intent to redeem Theopaschism and to dissociate the Miaphysites from the accusation of saying that the godhead suffered, is a passage where Timothy accuses the Dyophysites of Theopaschism:

> Nobody can say that the Lord of glory suffered in his nature [i.e., the accusation formulated against his party by the Chalcedonians] or in [his] essence. But if God the Word took up a nature different from his own, or, in other words, joined to himself a perfect man, and if Christ is two natures, as those who say "two natures" believe, they in fact say that he suffered in his own nature – which is an impious affirmation – and they say that the divine nature is passible. For the nature of Christ is that of the divinity alone, that which became flesh for our salvation without change, so that he would appear in the flesh and suffer in the flesh, according to the divine Scriptures. We do not say of an ordinary man that he appeared in the flesh, or that he suffered in the flesh, for the man as a whole, a rational animal, is called flesh in the divine Scripture. In contrast to this, Christ, as one who is God by nature, is said to have suffered in the flesh.[153]

The argument is suspect. If one accepts that Christ suffered in the flesh and maintains at the same time that Christ *joined* to himself a perfect man, a nature different from his own, it follows that Christ suffered in the divine nature, since He could not have suffered in a nature different from his own. It was certainly on the implications of its rhetorical construction that its functionality was based. There existed a trend of argumentation where one's opponents were accused of being so ridiculous in their beliefs that they could be accused not only of the heresy commonly associated with them, but even of its opposite. Timothy himself quotes in fact a passage from Athanasius' *Letter to Epictetus*,[154] with which his text presents striking similarities in logical construction: in reply to those who argued that recognizing that the body of the Lord was from Mary meant transforming the Trinity into a Quaternity (the body would be introduced as a fourth person in the Trinity), Athanasius

[153] J. Lebon, "La Christologie," 692 (B.M. MS Addit. 12156, f. 19v.).
[154] Timothy, "Letters," 353.

explains that the Father and the Son are of the same nature, yet different persons; similarly, even if the flesh were of the same nature as the Word, it would nonetheless be a different person, according to his opponents' logic; hence, the Trinity would still appear as a Quaternity). Similarly, Vigilius of Thapsus, a contemporary author, accused the Miaphysites of predicating two sons.[155] A similar argumentative practice is mentioned by Zacharias as well. Among the members of the Alexandrian delegation that went to Constantinople on Timothy's behalf and met with Basiliscus in 475, there was a certain Paul – who arguably drafted the *Encyclical* of Basiliscus – "who, in a discussion with Acacius the patriarch, was able to show that the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches are one and the same; though they are generally thought to be diametrically opposed to each other."[156]

3.1.2. Theopaschism in Timothy's Writings against the Phantasiasts[157]

The embarrassment caused to Timothy by the Phantasiasts, and the manner in which he dealt with these *sectatores* forms the subject matter of several letters by Timothy,[158] and is mentioned on several occasions by Zacharias.[159] Otherwise, the historical evidence concerning this group does not abound.

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[155] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* IV, XIII, col. 0125D-0126B.
[156] *Zacharias* V, I, 104-105. The argument presented by Zacharias is the following: "For the one, indeed, making objection declares that it would be a degradation to God to be born of a woman, and to be made in all points like as we are, by becoming partaker of flesh and blood; whereas He was only partaker by identity of name, and by power and indwelling, and by operation. But the other, indeed, for the purpose of liberating and exalting God, so that He should not suffer degradation and contempt by association with a human body, publishes the doctrine that He became incarnate from His own essence, and that He assumed a heavenly body; and that just as there is no part of the seal left upon the wax, nor of the golden signet upon the clay, so neither did there cleave to Christ any portion of humanity whatsoever."
[157] See *supra*, fn. 131.
[158] *Letter to the City of Constantinople* (Timothy, "Letters," 351-357); *Letter to the City of Alexandria* (*Ibid.*, 357-362); *Letter to Faustinus the Deacon* (*Ibid.*, 364-366); *Letter to Claudianus the Priest* (*Ibid.*, 366-369).
[159] *Zacharias* V, 4, 110-113; IV, 12, 82.

We learn that Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis, and Theophilus, a priest of Alexandria, were refusing to admit the reality of Christ's flesh, His consubstantiality with us.[160] Timothy tried at first to correct them without publicly pronouncing anathemas against them.[161] When this failed, he wrote several letters (at various times throughout his career), informing the communities of Constantinople, Egypt and Palestine of the danger posed by Isaiah and Theophilus, and their group. As Timothy explains in a letter written to Alexandria at the time of his exile in Gangra, Isaiah and Theophilus were active in Constantinople, and, among other things, they were trying – wrongfully, he argues – to convince the community of the capital that he was on their side, and that any proof to the contrary (even coming from Timothy himself) was a forgery.[162]

The same letter allows us to conjecture that Timothy might have had trouble with the Phantasiasts even before his exile. According to this text, Timothy had been dealing with the Phantasiasts for over four years.[163] And, if we are to trust the title of the letter, it was written from his exile in Gangra (which lasted until 464), meaning that the problems with the Phantasiasts started no later than 460. If this is indeed true, the association of Timothy with a group that ostensibly declined to accept Christ's true humanity must have had significant bearing on his attempts to obtain the emperor's full endorsement before his exile to Gangra, and must have caused him considerable inconvenience in his efforts to demonstrate his orthodoxy.

[160] *Zacharias* IV, 12, 82.
[161] Timothy, "Letters," 358.
[162] *Ibid.*, 358-9.
[163] *Ibid.*, 358.

Timothy hints at the fact that Isaiah and Theophilus had important supporters in Constantinople.[164] Zacharias seems to confirm this when he retells that, having arrived in Constantinople upon Basiliscus' recall (475), Timothy was approached by a group of "Eutychians" who were under the patronage of Zenona, Basiliscus' wife, "a professor of their creed."[165] It was probably the same group that is reported to have tried to win over Theodosius, the anti-Chalcedonian monk who briefly replaced Juvenal in the see of Jerusalem after the Council of Chalcedon, and who was later imprisoned in Constantinople.[166]

The existence of the Phantasiasts in Timothy's time is also brought into discussion by Severus of Antioch, in his *Contra additiones Iuliani.* Severus mentions one of the objections formulated by the Phantasiasts in that period:

> Advancing the audacity of their ignorance, they declared: "Where does the Holy Scripture say that the flesh of our Saviour is consubstantial with that of us, men? What the Scripture did not state clearly in specific words, we do not agree to state.[167]

Severus mentions Ascalon and the neighboring areas as places reached by the Phantasiast heresy;[168] Timothy himself referred to Palestine and Egypt as being troubled by this heresy.[169]

Timothy accused the Council of Chalcedon of having stirred the Phantasiasts.

> As for the heresy of the Phantasiasts, not only have you followed it, but you have also expanded it, and you have been reason for schisms and torments for the churches everywhere.[170]

and:

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[164] Timothy, "Letters," 359.
[165] *Zacharias* V, 4, 110-113.
[166] *Ibid.* III, 9, 56.
[167] Severus of Antioch, *Contra additiones Juliani,* CSCO 296, ed. R. Hespel (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1968), 25, 65.
[168] *Ibid.,* 25, 65
[169] Timothy, "Letters," 358-359; 365. Cf. *Zacharias* III, 10, 58-59.
[170] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 221.

> Their heresy is an ancient and many-headed monster, which gained confidence from the wicked Synod of the Nestorians at Chalcedon.[171]

Certainly, the polemical character of these affirmations is easily detectable. And the suspicion that this "heresy" might in fact lack actual content is not unfounded. However, one can also look for the motivation of such discourse outside the sphere of pure polemics, and conjecture that what happened at Chalcedon did in fact stir the supporters of one-nature Christology to the extreme, introducing division within this group and pushing some toward an extreme embracing of this position.

Timothy does not clearly identify the Phantasiasts as Eutychians. He establishes at times relations between their position and that of Eutyches, without however insisting on the idea of direct lineage, and without calling them by the name of their presumed forefather:

> But Eutyches did not believe that Emmanuel was consubstantial in the flesh with the most blessed Virgin and Mother of God who begot Emmanuel, as the followers of those who were his disciples bear testimony, who will give account before the Judge and God for such testimony.[172]

As seen above, Zacharias mentions that, upon Timothy Aelurus' arrival in Constantinople after his recall by Basiliscus, these "Eutychians" had claimed him as one of theirs, and that Timothy had to make repeated efforts to exonerate his name from such accusations.[173] It is most possible that the associations drawn between Timothy and the "Eutychians" were actually much more frequent than that. They often bore, without doubt, on the anti-Chalcedonians' endorsement for Ephesus II, which had redeemed Eutyches.

Given this situation, it was probably in Timothy's best interest to avoid calling Isaiah, Theophilus, and their supporters "Eutychians," more generally, to avoid any proximity

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[171] Timothy, "Letters," 367.
[172] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 206.
[173] *Zacharias* V, 4, 110-113.

between his name and that of Eutyches. It was in his best interest to create as little scandal as possible around this shady group. For this purpose, he had to isolate their fault in a concrete, non-problematic manner, and to reject this fault emphatically in order to dissociate himself from them. If he could do this while avoiding the ill-fated name of Eutyches, his chances of success could only increase.

In the same vein, Timothy avoids calling the Phantasiasts "Apollinarians." Like "Eutychian," "Apollinarian" was a dangerous appellation to him, given the long tradition of charges of Apollinarianism leveled against the strict Cyrillians, both before Chalcedon and after.[174] Implicit rejections of Apollinarianism, however, can be found interspersed in Timothy's writings, such as the following:[175]

> Nobody among the saints said that He had a soul without a body, or a body without a soul, but rather that **he united to himself the flesh together with a rational soul.**[176]

Rather than emphasizing their heretical lineage, Timothy prefers to point to the Phantasiasts' refusal to acknowledge the double consubstantiality as their main fault. The formula of the double consubstantiality had been sanctioned at Chalcedon, and used by Cyril, and, perhaps more importantly, Eutyches had rejected it.[177] It thus represented a safe way of warding off accusations of Eutychianism while, at the same time, indirectly downplaying them by not having to mention Eutyches' name. "Consubstantial with the Father in His divinity, and consubstantial with us in His humanity" thus became the prevailing element in Timothy's Christological discourse against the Phantasiasts.

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[174] See one accusation of Apollinarianism and Eutychianism in pope Leo's *Second Tome* (*Coll. Grimanica* 104, 114).

[175] Direct mentions of Apollinarianism do appear on occasions; at times Timothy quotes Nestorianism and Apollinarianism as being the two extremes of Christological heresy. See the petition of Timothy, sent to Constantinople in response to Leo's *Second Tome* in *Zacharias* IV, 6, 71-74.

[176] J. Lebon, "La Christologie," 691 (B.M. MS Addit. 12156, f. 23 r).

[177] For a discussion of the double consubstantiality, see M. Wiles, Ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν, *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1965): 454-461.

Further, Timothy accused the Phantasiasts of being Manicheans. A. Grillmeier believed that this must have pointed to a resurgence of Manicheism in Timothy's times.[178] However, this characterization comes up frequently in a number of texts (both contemporary and posterior) in relation to presumed Eutychians, and, on all occasions, it appears to be nothing more than a standard tarring with the brush of heresy.[179] Severus explains in one of the letters:

> It is in fact a custom of the fathers to refer heresies to the roots from which they sprang by way of reducing them to something shameful. Hence they called the corruption of Arius idolatry, inasmuch as it exhorts us to worship a creature, and the witlessness of Sabellius they termed Judaism, inasmuch as it includes the three substances in one person after the Jewish fashion. [...] In consonance with this principle which I have just stated they also term those who are infected with the phantasmal tenet of Eutyches Manichees: not because they are in all respects enveloped in the nets of the Manichees, but because the fatuous idea of a phantasy is part of the vitiated conception of Mani, and is derived from him.[180]

In the case of Timothy, there may have existed an ulterior motive: to estrange the Phantasiasts even further, pushing them away from his group and into the group of "familiar heresies." That is to say, calling the Phantasiasts "Manicheans" worked as a rhetorical

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[178] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 4, 20-21: "The noticeable concern about the spread of Eutychianism also moves Timothy in letters V and VI. Letter V is still written from Gangra and goes to Palestine. It expands the picture of the spread of Eutychian or even Manichean views."

[179] To those authors, Manicheism was the heresy of those who denied the humanity of Christ. Thus Vigilius of Thapsus writes in his *Contra Eutychen* II, III, col. 0105C-D: "Item Manichaeus dum tantarum virtutum miracula respicit, quae Dei Filius operatus est, non vult eum hominem confiteri" and "Audi ergo, Manichaee: Quod Deus sit, verum dicis; quod et homo no sit, falleris." Philoxenus of Mabbug explains the association between Mani and Eutyches in the same way in the *Letter to the Monks of Senun*, 9 (11) (*Lettre aux Moines de Senoun*, ed. and tr. A. de Halleux, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 231-232 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1963): "Then anathematize also without reserve the erring Eutyches and Mani, who held similar beliefs; for, having fallen into the Manichean heresy, [Eutyches] also denied that the Son of God took his body from the Virgin." Pope Leo also refers to the Eutychians as Manichaeans (ep. 109.3); see W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise*, 145, fn. 2; see also *Coll. Grimanica* 34, 34. In his letter to Secundinus, Dioscorus uses the term "Manichaean" to describe those who do not believe that Christ was truly like us "not in phantasy, nor in mere semblance," evidently referring to the same group identified by the Dyophysites as "Eutychians." (*Zacharias* III, 1, 46-47).

[180] Severus of Antioch, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch* V.6, ed. and tr. E.W.Brooks, 2 vol. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1902-4), vol. 2, part 2 (tr.), 316.

technique meant to divert attention from more dangerous associations, since Manicheism had actually become a quasi-generic term for heresy.

To some extent, Timothy's "Phantasiasts" appear to be more of an invented group, a group given consistency by the refusal to confess the double consubstantiality, and needed by Timothy in order to articulate his distance from accusations of Eutychianism and Apollinarianism. Also, given the lack of sources concerning the Phantasiasts, it is impossible to qualify their historicity.

In describing the faulty doctrine of the Phantasiasts, Timothy points to their implicit scorning of the redeeming Passion. They say that:

> "the body of our Lord and God Jesus Christ is uncreated, that body which was constituted of created manhood. They are asserting that God the Word was not ineffably incarnate from the Virgin, Mother of God, sharing blood and flesh in our likeness – so as to be made wholly like us, sin excepted, and so that in becoming truly man, he could be seen by earthly men revealed in human flesh for our salvation, and so that "he should also suffer in the flesh for our sake," according to the divine Scriptures."[181]

This type of affirmation is rare in the writings against the Phantasiasts. The lack of Theopaschite formulations is in fact remarkable in these texts. The contrast between the letters written against the Phantasiasts and his writings against the Dyophysites is significant in this respect. As argued before, an over-insistence on Theopaschism was used rhetorically in the writings against the Dyophysites. It appears that the lack of Theopaschite elements in the writings against the Phantasiasts is also rhetorical. There is no doubt that Theopaschism would have been otherwise a type of discourse that a group of extreme Miaphysites could have taken a liking to. Its absence hides Timothy's desire not to involve this type of discourse, so valued by him, in fighting a group against which accusations of

[181] Timothy, "Letters," 367.

Theopaschism[182] could be without difficulty formulated. The same already discussed intention of dissociating his cause from that of the Phantasiasts shapes this side of his Christological discourse.[183]

An anti-Phantasiast attitude expressed in Theopaschite language might have existed, however, at the lower levels of the Church hierarchy (and, perhaps, lay community). A Syriac inscription that potentially proves this was found in the early 1950s in the North of the Jazirah region in Syria. The text of the inscription is partially preserved, and two fragments are particularly interesting for the present discussion. Lines 1-5 read as follows: "The Church redeemed by the blood of the One and Only [begotten] anathematizes all the Phantasiasts who are [...] instruments of suffering."[184] And lines 22-26 read: "**And whoever does not confess that the Word who came from God suffered in the flesh and was crucified in the flesh and was resurrected from the dead, let him be anathema.**"[185]

P. Mouterde dated this inscription to the period of the Julianist controversy in the sixth century. While it is indeed true that the Julianists were customarily dubbed "Phantasiasts," this alone does not provide an entirely reliable basis for dating. There is in fact no solid reason why this inscription could not be dated to the second half of the fifth century. Of significance is the fact that the Theopaschite formula used in this inscription does

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[182] Zacharias specifically mentions an instance of a heretical use of Theopaschite language in Alexandria at the time of Proterius. According to the historian, John the Rhetor presumably argued that God the Word suffered in his own nature, "if indeed He suffered at all" (*Zacharias* III, 10, 58). Zacharias also mentions that John signed his writings with the names of Theodosius of Jerusalem or Peter the Iberian. It is very possible that John the Rhetor embarrassed Timothy Aelurus in a similar manner. Moreover, in the petition Timothy sent to Constantinople in response to pope Leo's *Second Tome*, he rejects those who say that Christ's body came down from heaven, and that *God the Word suffered in his own nature* (*Zacharias* IV, 6, 72).
[183] The response letter of Basil of Seleucia to the *Codex Encyclicus* preserved in *Coll. Sangermanensis* (27, 49) defines the "Manicheans" as those who "unitarum vero duarum naturarum proprietates perimentes et neque passibilitatem carnis dominicae neque inpassibilitatem divinitatis eius esse confitentes dubiam circa incautos habentes sententiam maximas laesiones eis inspirare moliuntur," demonstrating that some form of Theopaschite language was in fact used to reject this group.
[184] P. Mouterde, "Une Inscription syriaque récemment trouvée en Haute Djéziré," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 10 (1960), 87-91, here 90.
[185] *Ibid.*, 90.

not contain the expression "one of the Trinity," which became customary starting from the end of the fifth century, and that, moreover, it presents striking similarities to Cyril of Alexandria's Twelfth Anathema.[186] This, again, can indicate a more archaic use of Theopaschite language, and thus an earlier dating.

Indeed, the text of this inscription blends well into the background of the conflict with the Phantasiasts during Timothy's lifetime, and, if this dating is correct, it expands our understanding of this conflict with an aspect otherwise unknown: it appears that opposition to the Phantasiasts at the lower levels of the Church hierarchy could have been expressed in Theopaschite language. This reinforces the idea that Timothy's avoidance of Theopaschism is, as argued above, representative for his rhetoric in using Theopaschite discourse.

3.2. Echoes in Dyophysite Writings

Timothy Aelurus, present as one of the most outstanding figures in all sources dealing with the history of the first three decades following Chalcedon, had a major influence on future generations of anti-Chalcedonians, but seems to have also played a role in shaping the position of the first generation of Chalcedonians. His use of Theopaschite language came to reflect to a certain extent on the texts of his Chalcedonian contemporaries. The already discussed emergence *in nuce* of neo-Chalcedonian elements at this time certainly favored, through the permissiveness it instituted, such an influence.

[186] "If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, becoming the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema." (Tr. in J.A. McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, 275).

Vigilius of Thapsus, an African bishop, came to Constantinople because of the Vandal persecution, soon after the synod gathered by King Huneric in 484 at Carthage.[187] The details regarding the composition of his work, *Contra Eutychen*, are sparse. In a recent study, Sara Petri, the Italian editor and translator of *Contra Eutychen*, plausibly argues that the treatise was probably written sometime between 470 and 482.[188] According to the Vigilius' own testimony, he had already written a treatise before this on the subject of Nestorianism and Eutychianism.[189]

Internal evidence appears to point to the fact that *Contra Eutychen* was written outside the sphere of influence of the *Henoticon* (published in 482). The construction of Vigilius' work faithfully mirrors the struggles of the anti-Chalcedonians before the changes brought about by the *Henoticon*, and, more particularly, Timothy's battles. The refutation of pope Leo's *Tome* and of the definition of Chalcedon is countered with an enthusiastic apology for the *Tome* and for Chalcedon,[190] and arguments regarding tradition and legitimacy, numerous in Timothy's works, are countered with matching arguments on the same subject (including a *florilegium*).[191]

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[187] See Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contro Eutiche*, ed. and comm. Sara Petri (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2003), 27. See also M. Simonetti, "Letteratura antimonofisita d'Occidente," *Augustinianum* 18 (1978): 487-532, here 505-522.

[188] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contro Eutiche*, 38-39. This dating is based almost exclusively on internal evidence. What is more important for the present study, this treatise doesn't seem to have been written under the influence of the *Henoticon*.

[189] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, IV, col. 0106A: "Quibus [Nestorio et Eutycheti] quoniam competenter uno jam respondi libello, nunc strictim, breviterque cassas eorum sollicitudines et inanes timores ostendam."

[190] *Ibid., Contra Eutychen, passim*, in particular Book IV (apology for the *Tome*) and Book V (apology for Chalcedon).

[191] Despite the fact that the Dyophysite tradition possessed a number of substantial florilegia dating to the first half of the fifth century (Theodore, Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret, pope Leo), Vigilius' collection of proof texts is slim and unelaborate. Richard describes the circumstances of the years following Chalcedon as follows: "L'échec de la tentative du pape saint Léon marque le début d'une période creuse dans l'histoire de la littérature théologique diphysite. L'effondrement, au lendemain même de sa victoire, de l'École d'Antioche, qui de Diodore à Théodoret s'était montrée si prolifique dans tous les domaines de la science ecclésiastique, laissait le champ libre à l'expansion du monophysisme dans tout l'Orient. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que pour les quarante dernières années du Ve siècle nous ne puissions citer que deux florilèges diphysites, le recueil alexandrin d'extraits des oeuvres de Cyrille et le florilège du pape Gélase [...]." (M. Richard, "Les florilèges

Several elements in *Contra Eutychen* lead one to believe that there existed non-negligible direct ties between this work and Timothy Aelurus' assaults against the Dyophysites. Book IV of *Contra Eutychen*, which deals with the attacks against Leo's *Tome*, addresses its opponent as *tu*, and often mentions this specific opponent's writings in what appear from the context to be direct quotations.[192] While this may be no more than a rhetorical element, and even though a comparison of this book with Timothy's refutation of Leo's *Tome* does not allow one to identify the words of Vigilius' opponent as being literally those of Timothy, the ideas and arguments criticized in Book IV show that the identification of the opponent as Timothy himself is not excluded.[193] At the least, this opponent was someone following very closely Timothy's line of argumentation.

Attempting to identify more specifically the Eutychians of Vigilius' work is a difficult task. The first book of *Contra Eutychen* talks about Eutychians as followers of Apollinarian doctrine,[194] while at the same time distinguishing a group of people who refuse to use "two natures" in their Christology, but who are essentially orthodox:

> Many among the orthodox people, even though they explain correctly the meaning of "two natures," they nevertheless shun [it] generally. For this reason they still do not

diphysites du Ve et du VIe siècle," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart* I, ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, 721-748 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1962), 727). It is to the same circumstances that we can relate Vigilius' lack of sophistication. Rather than using in his argumentation the Dyophysite tradition of the early fifth century, Vigilius constructs his attack as a mirror image of his adversaries' argumentative strategies; his resources are otherwise limited, and this reflects also on the construction of his *florilegium*.

192 Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen*, Book IV. I was not able to identify any of the quotations given by Vigilius in Timothy's work literally. However, the ideas are identifiable: Vigilius' opponent argues for the idea that there is no nature without a person (V, V, col.0137D), an idea that comes up frequently in Timothy Aelurus; the opponent points to specific disagreements between the Christology of the Dyophysites and that of Cyril; he accuses the Dyophysites of introducing a fourth person into the Trinity (V, XVII, col.0147C); unlike the "Eutychians" (or "Phantasiasts"), this opponent acknowledges the double consubstantiality (IV, XII, col. 0125D); he attacks certain passages in pope Leo's *Tome*, the same that were heavily criticized by Timothy as well (IV, IX, col. 0123D-0124D).

193 Compare: *Contra Eutychen* IV, II, col. 0119D-0120B and R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," the refutation of Leo's *Tome* #13, 149; IV, 3, col. 0120C and #12, 148-9; IV, VIII, col. 0123B-C and #13, 149; IV, XI, col. 0124D-0125B and #15 and #16, 150.

194 This is not an unusual identification. See the letter of Marcian to the Egyptians in *Coll. Sangermanensis* 1, 3-4.

> want to say "two natures," lest they be thought to confess two persons like Nestorius; they refrain from the confession of "two natures" not with their heart, but only with their voice.[195]

It is possible that these ecumenical feelings were more widespread among Africans, so close to the epicentre of anti-Chalcedonianism in Egypt, and, at the same time, so far from Constantinople, where the denigration of the "Monophysites" was more severe. It is even possible that, once in Constantinople, African bishops of this period retained a certain tolerance for anti-Chalcedonians. A somewhat later example of such tolerance comes from the *Collectio Veronensis*, which contains a letter addressed by pope Gelasius I (492-496) to a certain Succonius, an African bishop. Gelasius deplored the fact that Succonius was in communion with the Orientals, and exhorted him to return to the orthodox faith.[196] While it is possible that Succonius was a Chalcedonian upon his arrival in Constantinople and his views later moved toward anti-Chalcedonianism, it is also possible that his Chalcedonianism was simply never a strict one, and that entering communion with the anti-Chalcedonians of the East did not require a radical change of views on his part. Very likely, holding a position similar to that of Vigilius in the beginning, he later became even more permissive.

Vigilius often refers to the fight over natures as being useless and destructive, a fight over words which lacks substance. He gives the impression of being sympathetic to the Miaphysites, inasmuch as he distributes the blame for the conflict evenly between Miaphysites and Dyophysites:

> Those who want to confess with their mouth one person, which they defend with an explanation of faith, are considered Eutychians, although they are not. In the same way, those who confess publicly two natures of the one Christ, are considered Nestorians, although they are not. And you will see those [two groups] throwing at

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[195] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, X, col. 0110B.

[196] E. Schwartz, *PS*, 56-57; *Coll. Veronensis* 13, *PS*, 56-57. Succonius probably was among those African bishops who were exiled in 484 by the Vandal king Huneric.

each other the name of "heretics," by means of insults that are heinous and worthy of all lament.[197]

However, Vigilius' initially appeasing and rather uninvolved tone changes significantly in the last two books of *Contra Eutychen*, where he addresses the attacks of the "problematic orthodox" on pope Leo's *Tome* and on the definition of Chalcedon. In this section of the work the distinctions are less nuanced, and the Eutychians are more plainly identified as those who erroneously refuse to say "in two natures," and who denigrate the *Tome* and the definition of Chalcedon. With regard to Christological content *per se*, Vigilius shows himself relatively flexible. The compromises he's ready to make are not few, and some of his affirmations would have appeared suspect to many Chalcedonian contemporaries, at a time when a neo-Chalcedonian acceptance of Chalcedon had not been crystallized. However, he is not ready to compromise with regard to the authorities to whom he thinks allegiance is due, more exactly, pope Leo.

The formula "in two natures" occupies the foreground of the discussion in *Contra Eutychen*, but, interestingly enough, Vigilius also includes an extensive section on Theopaschism. He sees Theopaschite language as being at the core of the Christological confrontations. He defines the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches in Theopaschite language, thus proving the importance held by this type of discourse in his understanding of Christology. As a result, Nestorius is the one who thought that there existed two Christs, one passible and the other impassible, while Eutyches is the one who thought that the divinity

[197] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, X, col. 0110D-0111A. This presentation fits well the pen of someone coming from a region where other concerns, more constraining and of increased urgency, occupied the bishop's mind. In a different interpretation, it can denote that Vigilius was quite familiar and accustomed to co-habit with "Monophysitism," probably not unusual for an African. Therefore, although of Chalcedonian persuasion, his criticism of this group was relatively mild.

suffered.[198] Both sides, Vigilius tells us, are using scriptural passages as arguments to support their respective positions:

> Thus Nestorius, in order to protect the impiety of his doctrine, by which he wishes that Christ be seen as another in the passion, uses that testimony of the Apostle, who wrote to the Hebrews in this way: "but we do see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels, now crowned with glory and honor so that without God he might taste death for everyone."[199] Again Eutyches, in order to subject the divinity to suffering, brings forth in the same way the Apostle talking about the earlier times, which did not know the wisdom of God: "For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."[200]

Vigilius criticizes those who refuse to say *Deus passus*, and accuses them of furthering a senseless controversy:

> Again others, fearing lest they fall into the doctrine of Apollinaris and Eutyches, **do not want to say that God suffered and died**, although they believe that He is only one person, and confess the same to be both God and man. If therefore He is one – as He indeed is – why are you afraid to say that He suffered, whom you are not afraid to call "one," [while] you also do not dare to say "another" according to Nestorius' impious belief? **These are the most empty fears and the most pointless concerns, which have made orthodox people throw against each other the names of**

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[198] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, V, col. 0107A "Et quia est in Christo et naturarum proprietas et personae unio, Nestorius proprietatem attendendo naturarum, a personae excidit unione; et duos putavit Christos, unum passibilem, alterum impassibilem esse. Eutyches unam intendendo personam, a naturarum proprietate descivit, et ipsam divinitatem asseruit passam."

[199] This quote from Hebrews 2:9 displays an interesting variant: instead of "through God's grace" (χάριτι θεοῦ), "without God's grace" (χωρὶς θεοῦ). According to Tischendorf's Critical Apparatus to the New Testament (vol. 2, 785-786) (accessed on Bibleworks 7), this variant is attested as early as Origen, and appears frequently in texts stemming from the Antiochian tradition. With this variant, the text of Hebrews 2:9 was particularly well suited for the Antiochians' goal to preserve divine impassibility. According to Tischendorf, there also existed another variant (appears in Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Cyril, *Apologia duodecim capitum* and *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias libri quinque*): "*ipse enim deus* per gratiam suam pro omnibus gustavit mortem." This variant was certainly more suitable for the Cyrillians. It is interesting that Vigilius did not comment on the "Nestorianizing" variant. It is quite possible that the text was circulated in this form in Africa among Chalcedonians, where "without God's grace" may have represented the norm (Tischendorf also mentions Fulgentius, the North-African defender of the Three Chapters, among those who used it). S. Brock discusses this variant in his study "The Use of the Syriac Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism" (in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B.D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), 224-236, here 230) and concludes that χωρὶς θεοῦ "was introduced into the Peshitta tradition of the Church of the East under the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia – the "exegete" par excellence of that tradition." See also S. Brock, "Hebrews 2:9B in Syriac Tradition," *Novum Testamentum* 27, 3 (1983): 236-244. Here the author argues convincingly that the evidence in Syriac manuscripts suggests that χάριτι θεοῦ was the predominant variant before 430. After this date, it was replaced by χωρὶς θεοῦ under the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia, only to be superseded again by χάριτι θεοῦ after the closing of the Persian School of Edessa in 489.

[200] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, V, col. 0107A-B.

> **heretics**, while what is proclaimed most clearly in the heart is suppressed from being proclaimed in words.[201]

This is certainly more than pope Leo had granted in his *Tome*, more than the Dyophysites had agreed to at Chalcedon, and relatively close to Timothy's insistence on Theopaschism. However, the provisos that accompany *Deus passus* in Vigilius' work are numerous, and, to the Miaphysites, impossible to stomach.

To Vigilius, Theopaschite language is non-problematic as long as one accepts that it is used due to *unio personae*, not to *proprietas naturae*. Thus, saying that "God died" and saying "God did not die" are equally right:

> Let Nestorius not be frightened when we say that **God suffered and died**, since we say it **on account of the union of person**. Also, let Eutyches not be afraid when we say that **God did not suffer and did not die**, because he is impassible, since we say it **on account of the property of nature**, and, what is more, it is not we who say it, but the Scriptures.[202]

The imagery of the crucifixion, painted dramatically – due to the insistence on the oneness of subject – in Dioscorus'[203] and Timothy's[204] works, is dissected by Vigilius, in such a way that his professed goodwill with regard to Theopaschite statements could not have possibly found acceptance with the anti-Chalcedonians:

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[201] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, X, col. 0110C-D. Emphasis mine.
[202] *Ibid.* II, VIII, col. 0109A. Emphasis mine.
[203] Lengthy passages from Dioscorus on the matter of passibility and impassibility are quoted by Timothy in his refutation of pope Leo's *Tome*, in R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 150-162. See for example the following passage from Dioscorus' *Letter to the monks of Henaton*: "So he who was born is God, he who was crowned with thorns is God, he who was nurtured with milk is God, he who endures on our behalf all things save only sin is God for "He did no sin neither was guile found in his mouth." He who was crucified and tasted death in his flesh is God, He who was buried, rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven and will come again to judge both the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end is God." (R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 162).
[204] In answer to Leo's: "Let him consider what nature pierced with nails hung crucified on the wood and let him understand whence the blood and water flowed when the side of him who was fixed on the cross was riven by the soldier's lance," Timothy affirms: "The incarnate God the Word whom they saw, therefore, hung on the wood, was pierced by nails and his side was riven by the soldier's lance. They touched him whose side was riven when he rose from the dead, him whom the confess to be the Word of life. They call him who was pierced with nails, whose side was riven, their Lord and true God." (R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 156).

> Indeed, the godhead took upon itself the insults, but the suffering only its flesh experienced. Therefore, to take up suffering belongs to each of the two natures; but to yield to suffering is not characteristic of each of the two natures, even though it belongs to one and the same person.[205]

and:

> Just as we say that a man heard a voice, but only with his ears; and saw light, but only with his eyes: so also we say that God suffered, but only in the flesh; and God did not suffer, but only in the divinity. And because Christ is one and he is God, he suffered **on account of being man**, and remained impassible **on account of being God**. Let me bring this brief discussion to an end: God suffered through the unity of person, he did not suffer through the property of nature.[206]

Acacius of Beroea (d. 437), who was involved in the Nestorian controversy and sought to effect a reconciliation between the Cyrillians and the Antiochians, had adopted a very similar way of discussing the matter of passibility and impassibility in the Incarnation.[207] As a concession to his Antiochian opponents, Cyril of Alexandria had declared this manner of using Theopaschite discourse to be essentially correct, but nevertheless misused by the Dyophysites, who did not understand that the distinction between natures was one *en theoria* – in contemplation – alone.[208]

A more graphic illustration of a similar mode of handling Theopaschite discourse comes up in a work by another one of Timothy's contemporaries, Arnobius Junior, a monk who lived in Rome and who, judging by his name, was, like Vigilius, of African origin.[209] He

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[205] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* II, IX, col. 0109D-0110B.
[206] *Ibid.* II, IX, col. 0109D. Emphasis mine.
[207] See *Coll. Casinensis* 312, 243-245.
[208] See Cyril of Alexandria, *Second Letter to Succensus*, in J.A. McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, 359-363, here 363.
[209] P. de Labriolle, "Arnobe le Jeune," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1930), vol. 4, cols. 547-549 (text accessed at http://clt.brepolis.net). There is a certain amount of confusion regarding Arnobius. Some attributed to him the rank of priest or bishop, and hypothesized that he was of Gallic origin; see "Arnobius Junior," in *Dictionary of Early Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D.*, ed. H. Wace and W.C. Piercy (London: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999, reprinted from *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, 1911), 51.

flourished about 460. His familiarity with the Eastern Christological controversies was limited, and his picture of Miaphysite Christology is an oversimplifying caricature.[210]

Without receiving the serious treatment given to them by Vigilius, or even an acknowledgment of their importance in the current Christological picture, Theopaschite elements feature nonetheless a few times in Arnobius' *Conflictus cum Serapione*, a work set in the form of a dialogue and directed against the Miaphysites.[211] Arnobius brings in three controversial examples meant to explain how God participated in the suffering:

> You have to keep in mind the example of the wool and of the blood of the purple-fish. After the wool was colored purple through mingling with the blood, when it is woven or knitted or spun, it is not the color, but the wool which is woven, knitted or spun, and the wool also which is dignified. Does the color purple perchance disappear because [the wool] is spun? [212]

> And:

> With the blow of an ax you strike at the same time the tree [which you hit] and also the brightness of the sun [which reflects] in it. You will inflict a wound on the tree, but you will leave the sun untouched, whose brightness and heat you strike at the same time. And if the sun does not abandon the tree upon the blow of the one who struck, so much less did the Son of God, that is the Word, abandon his holy one in the passion.[213]

> And finally:

> And just as the bush was truly burning, so has the Son of Man truly suffered; and just as [the bush] was not consumed, so did the Son of God not suffer.[214]

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[210] For a presentation of the Christology of Arnobius' *Conflictus cum Serapione*, see C. Pifarré, *Arnobio el Joven y la cristologia del "Conflictus"* (Montserrat: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1988), esp. 154-226.

[211] The subject of this text is summarized in the extended title: "De Deo trino et uno, de duo substantiis in unitate personae, et de concordia gratiae et liberi arbitrii." According to M. Simonetti, "Letteratura antimonofisita d'Occidente," 492-493, the *Conflictus* predates the Council of Chalcedon; the fact that Arnobius makes no mention of the Council of Chalcedon in this text is used by Simonetti as main argument for this dating. He places the *Conflictus*, mainly based on the intense discussion in favor of pope Leo's *Tome* in this text, sometime between 449 (after Ephesus II) and 451 (before Chalcedon). However, it is precisely this fervent defence of the *Tome*, along with various references to contemporary conflicts in Palestine in Egypt, that suggests 451 as *terminus post quem*. C. Pifarré has suggested a dating between 453-455 (*Arnobio el Joven*, 223-224), which I find overall convincing.

[212] Arnobius Junior, *Conflictus*, II, 22.

[213] *Ibid.*, II, 22.

[214] *Ibid.*, II, 22.

Despite Arnobius' willingness to use Theopaschite language, the anti-Chalcedonians would have found these examples unacceptable, even more so than Vigilius' explanations.

Moreover, in the larger picture, Vigilius' and Arnobius' detailed expositions were irreconcilable with the idea, consistently present in the writings of the anti-Chalcedonians from Timothy Aelurus to Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug, that one ought not to inquire into or attempt to define the mechanisms of the Incarnation, an idea presented best by Timothy in the already mentioned words of John Chrysostom: "Do not ask how! For where God wills, nature's order is conquered by him."[215] Any profession of Theopaschite language that accompanied the confession of a duality of natures and an elaborate explanation of how Theopaschism ought to be understood would have been insufficient for the Miaphysites.

In conclusion, Theopaschism appears to have found its way into the writings of fifth-century Dyophysites after Chalcedon. Since, overall, Vigilius' works show that he was familiar with the writings of the anti-Chalcedonian, and even writing in response to them (perhaps in response to Timothy himself), it is quite likely that Timothy's "ease of use" in employing Theopaschite language struck a chord with Vigilius, and that, perhaps in an effort to compromise on an issue that seemed inoffensive, Vigilius conceded that one *ought to* say "Deus passus." With respect to its Christological implications, Theopaschism, as circumscribed by Vigilius' restrictions, was harmless to Dyophysite Christology. The element that represented a significant advance over the early-fifth-century Dyophysite position, and certainly over Chalcedon, was the natural acceptance and the unreluctant use of

[215] John Chrysostom, *Sermon on the Divine Incarnation*. R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition," 156.

a Theopaschite phrase **endowed with a formulaic character, and proclaimed a standard of orthodoxy.**

There are signs in Timothy's work that compromises were happening on the anti-Chalcedonian side as well. To Timothy, a promoter of the one-nature Christology, the affirmation that God the Word is passible according to his human nature, and impassible according to his divine nature was unacceptable. But, likely, a desire to compromise for the sake of peace and unity in the Church moved him to adopt the disjunctive lexical structure preferred by Chalcedonians, a structure that he adapts by elegantly eliminating all implications of a duality of natures: "impassible according to his divinity, passible according to the economy:"

> Christ, on the contrary, as one who is God by nature, is said to have suffered in the flesh; for the same was [at the same time] **impassible as God by nature, but passible according to the economy**, because the Word became flesh and remained God.[216]

It was a concession pro forma, hardly acceptable to the Dyophysites in the absence of the acceptance of certain authorities, and of the formula "in two natures," and ultimately ineffective. A final compromise solution could not arise from such attempts, and more importantly, could not be based on Theopaschite discourse in this period. Given the anti-Chalcedonians' relentless endorsement of Theopaschism, using it as a ground for negotiations was hardly the way to achieve vigorous results at this time. It would in fact take several more decades before Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians met again in their Christological views on the common ground of Theopaschite discourse, with more significant and longer-lasting results.

[216] J. Lebon, "La Christologie," 692 (B.M. MS Addit. 12156, f. 19 v).

Chapter 2: 469-482: The Prehistory of the Late Fifth- and Early Sixth-Century Controversies over Theopaschism

The disturbances that followed the Council of Chalcedon in Alexandria are relatively well documented, as seen in the previous chapter, and so is the turmoil in Jerusalem caused by patriarch Juvenal's volte-face.[217] The main characters of the opposition to Chalcedon in both Alexandria and Jerusalem are well-known, and the sequence of events itself is abundantly documented in the extant sources.

In contrast to this, extremely little is known about the situation in Antioch in the aftermath of Chalcedon. As seen below, almost nothing is known, for example, about the fate of Maximus, the patriarch of Antioch who had been one of Dioscorus of Alexandria's main supporters at the Second Council of Ephesus in 449, and who had – like Juvenal of Jerusalem – switched allegiance at Chalcedon in 451. Similarly, very little is known of his successors to the see of Antioch.

Nevertheless, in reconstructing the history of Theopaschism, a good understanding of how the situation evolved in the diocese of Oriens post-451 is particularly important. The years 469-471 in Antioch marked the beginning of a new series of complex Christological controversies that focused on Theopaschite discourse. The first part of this chapter analyzes in detail the circumstances that led to the fights over the Trisagion interpolated with the Theopaschite addition "who was crucified for us" in Antioch in 469-471, and the conditions that enabled the anti-Chalcedonians to obtain a resounding victory on this occasion by having the interpolated Trisagion officially sanctioned.

What rendered this victory particularly meaningful in the long run were the imperial doctrinal edicts of the years 475-482, in particular the *Encyclical* and the *Henoticon*, which

[217] See, for example, E. Honigmann's ample study "Juvenal of Jerusalem." See also C.B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*, *passim*, esp. 80-86.

allowed anti-Chalcedonian Christological discourse to penetrate mainstream Christology, and eventually provided solid grounds for a more extensive and aggressive anti-Chalcedonian defense of Theopaschite discourse. As a result of these edicts, the anti-Chalcedonians moved from a reserved and largely regional defense of Theopaschite discourse to an active promotion of it. The second part of this chapter will analyze these edicts, thus providing a historical background to the analysis of the uses and reception of Theopaschite discourse between 482 and 533 (Chapters 3 and 4, and Epilogue).

1. Theopaschism in Antioch: 451-471

1. 1. Antioch between 451 and 469: the historical background of the conflict over the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion

Sparse remarks in the correspondence that preceded the Second Council of Ephesus indicate that the situation in the East, and in Syria in particular, had been tense before the council of Chalcedon, and even before Ephesus II. A letter from emperor Theodosius II to the Syrian archimandrite Barsauma testifies:

> It has not escaped our piety how **the most religious and holy archimandrites in the eastern parts are arrayed in combat**, battling on behalf of the orthodox faith and **opposing some of the bishops in the cities of the Orient who are infected with the impiety of Nestorius**, while **the orthodox laity share the combat** with these most religious archimandrites.[218]

Thus, the eastern monks, having the support of the lay population, were engaged in a conflict against bishops who, post 451, embraced the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. It was in fact a strong network of bishops that the monks were opposing. They were in close collaboration, as, for example, their extensive correspondence demonstrates.[219] The

[218] *The Acts*, vol. 1, 137. Emphasis mine.
[219] The *Coll. Casinensis* contains a significant selection thereof.

foundation of their bond was a fundamental adherence to the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia.[220]

It is very unlikely that the conflict between the monks and the bishops mentioned by Theodosius II subsided after 451. Nothing in the decisions of the council of Chalcedon was going to appease the dissatisfaction of the monks. Moreover Barsauma, the "great agitator," a tumultuous protagonist at both Ephesus II and Chalcedon, a monk whom Theodosius II allegedly wanted to ordain to the see of Antioch to replace Domnus,[221] returned to Syria after Chalcedon, and most likely continued his lobbying against this council until his death in 458.

Evidence that this situation of conflict persisted in the immediate aftermath of Chalcedon does not abound, but it does nonetheless exist. In a letter addressed to Maximus of Antioch in June 453, pope Leo exhorted Maximus to remain a steward of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the East.[222] The same letter provides an indication that there existed conflict in Antioch in the years immediately following Chalcedon: "And yet we are sore grieved at **some who still (so your messengers indicate) love their darkness.**"[223] However, more precise details are missing. This lack is not compensated for by information in other sources. Perhaps a certain language barrier prevented news from circulating as freely as from Alexandria or Jerusalem. Probably the "turbulent elements" communicated mainly in Syriac, as we know the famously "dangerous" monk Barsauma did from evidence at Ephesus II and Chalcedon,[224] and had possibly little or no knowledge of Greek.[225] Or, perhaps, the two

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[220] For a discussion of the patriarchate of Antioch before Chalcedon, see A.M. Schor, *Networks of Faith: Theodoret of Cyrrhus and the Bishops of Roman Syria, 423-451* (Ph.D. dissertation, 2004, University of Michigan; retrieved 08/24/2007; accessed at Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database (Publication No. AAT 3150089)).
[221] See M. Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ*, 298-299.
[222] Pope Leo, *Letter CXIX To Maximus, Bishop of Antioch* II, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series II, volume XII, 85-87, here 85-86.
[223] *Ibid.*, I, 85.
[224] See *The Acts*, vol. 2, 159 for a reference to Barsauma "speaking in Syriac through his own interpreter."

conflicting sides were more balanced in the East than elsewhere, and were therefore unable to impose significant restrictions on each other; thus, the conflict may have been better managed, and even kept in check for a certain time.

Maximus had been Dioscorus' choice for the patriarchate of Antioch, just as Anatolius[226] had been Dioscorus' choice for Constantinople. At the time of the Second Council of Ephesus, Maximus was on the side of the strict-Cyrillians. He was ordained by Anatolius of Constantinople in 449, to whom he then remained very loyal throughout the events leading up to Chalcedon, and the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon. Proof of this loyalty abounds in the *Acts* of Chalcedon, and is at times particularly emphatic. During the session on Photius and Eusthatius (where the issue of granting rights to Berytus to the disadvantage of Tyre was discussed), Maximus reveals having previously given his assent to a decision in this manner: "A document was brought to me with the signature of the most sacred Archbishop Anatolius, and following him I too signed."[227]

Maximus was one of the bishops who gathered in the oratory of saint Euphemia to draft a revised definition of faith acceptable to the bishops taking part in the council, as well as to the imperial commissioners.[228] This indicates the important role he played during the proceedings of Chalcedon. His change of attitude after Ephesus II was radical. In the eighth session of Chalcedon, he emphatically approved the reinstatement of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, deposed in 449 at Ephesus II:

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[225] See G. Bardy, "Barsauma," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1932), vol. 6, cols 946-947 (text accessed at http://clt.brepolis.net). However, F. Millar has argued that bilingualism Syriac-Greek was the norm in Oriens (*A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 114-116).
[226] Furthermore, Anatolius had been Dioscorus' deacon and apocrisarius. See Liberatus, *Breviarium* XII, 76.
[227] The document in question was produced at the *synodus endemousa* of 450; Maximus signed the decision of this synod without having been present there, just because a document with Anatolius' signature was presented to him (*The Acts*, vol. 2, 177).
[228] *Ibid.*, 200.

"Long ago and from the beginning I have known the most God-beloved Bishop Theodoret to be orthodox, having heard his teaching in the most holy church. Now all the more do I accept his sacredness, since he has now anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches and believes in accordance with the definition issued by this holy council. Therefore I too resolve that he should be bishop of the city of Cyrrhus according to custom."[229]

None of the other bishops' statements approving the decision to restore Theodoret to his see is as emphatic.[230] He similarly absolved Ibas during the tenth session.[231] Whether genuine or forged as demanded by the circumstances, Maximus' enthusiasm indicates the extent of the efforts and compromises he was willing to make in order to preserve his see.

Despite all this, Maximus' position at Chalcedon was somewhat fragile. He had succeeded Domnus as a result of Domnus' deposition at Ephesus II. Since all the decisions of Ephesus II were rescinded in 451, Maximus' situation became uncertain. The problem was officially resolved at Chalcedon as late as the tenth session. Although all the decisions of Ephesus II were revoked, the papal representatives affirmed that, especially since the pope had subsequently received Maximus into communion, his ordination remained valid.[232] The other participating bishops approved of this decision. Domnus was granted a reasonable pension and agreed to withdraw his claims to the see of Antioch.[233]

Courting the graces of both Anatolius of Constantinople and Leo of Rome, Maximus strengthened his position considerably while at Chalcedon. It is however uncertain that, once he returned to Antioch, his position received full support. He most likely encountered a certain amount of opposition. A plot was eventually mounted against Maximus, conceivably by the opponents of Chalcedon.

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[229] *The Acts*, vol. 2, 256.
[230] The papal legates were more emphatic and elaborate on this subject, but out of the bishops of the East Maximus provided the strongest positive response to this. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 255.
[231] *Ibid.*, 306.
[232] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 303; *Evagrius* II, 18, 125.
[233] *The Acts*, vol. 2, 310.

We do not know what the accusations brought against him were. In a letter addressed to Julian of Cos[234] pope Leo mentions a scandal in which Maximus became involved, but does not specify what the accusations against him were. By 455/456 Maximus had been deposed.

The two bishops who occupied the see of Antioch between 456 and 459 were reportedly Chalcedonian: Basil and Acacius. In a letter dated 1 September 457, pope Leo writes that neither Basil, Maximus' successor, nor other bishops from the East had informed him of the new ordination. He had learned about Basil's ordination from a letter sent to him by emperor Marcian.[235] P. Blaudeau notes that Basil was in all probability Anatolius of Constantinople's deacon, and he hypothesizes that his consecration had not been reported to the pope in order to veil a suspicious Constantinopolitan intervention in Antiochian affairs.[236] After all, such concealing was justified since, in a letter dated 22 May 452, pope Leo had already blamed Anatolius for having taken upon himself the consecration of Maximus of Antioch *contra canonicam regulam*.[237]

Basil (456-457?), together with other bishops from Syria I, addressed a letter in response to emperor Leo's *Codex Encyclicus*.[238] This letter placed great emphasis on the

[234] *Coll. Grimanica* 85, 95.
[235] *Ibid.*, 90, 97-98.
[236] P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 430-431. This is a highly plausible explanation, and one can further hypothesize that Maximus' deposition could have been the result of a plot. In the period following Chalcedon, Maximus had probably come to regret the territorial agreement he had made with Juvenal of Jerusalem, as Maximus' correspondence with pope Leo seems to suggest (Pope Leo, *Letter CXIX To Maximus* III-IV, 86). As far as Anatolius of Constantinople was concerned, such regrets could work against him, adding to the pope's opposition – already emphatic at this point – to Canon 28. It was thus in Anatolius' best interest to have Maximus deposed. Staging a scandal was a simple way to do this while maintaining a low profile.
[237] *Coll. Grimanica*, 56, 60. Similarly, in *Ibid.*, 54, 57, a letter from the same day, Leo complains about this to Marcian, stating that he had accepted this unlawful ordination for the sake of peace: "agite quod et Christianae est probitatis et regiae, ut praedictus episcopus parcat patribus, consulat paci neque sibi aestimet licuisse quod Antiochenae ecclesiae sine ullo exemplo contra statuta canonum episcopum ordinare praesumpsit, quod nos amore reparandae fidei et pacis studio retractare cessavimus."
[238] As discussed in Chapter 1, the *Codex Encyclicus* was sent out in 457 to consult the bishops of the East on the validity of Chalcedon and on the legitimacy of Timothy Aelurus' ordination.

lawfulness of Chalcedon, more so than most letters preserved in the *Collectio Sangermanensis*, and certainly with more doctrinal details than most letters.[239] Nothing particular is revealed about a Christological conflict developing in Antioch in this period. However, a reference this letter makes to the Theopaschites (it refers to Theopaschism as the main fault of the Miaphysites/Eutychians),[240] when seen in light of the conflict over the Theopaschite Trisagion that was going to trouble Antioch a decade later, and of the disputes over Theopaschism that preceded Chalcedon, may represent a hint that a certain conflict over Theopaschism was developing in Antioch during Basil's episcopacy.

Acacius of Antioch, Basil's successor (458?-459?) is mentioned by the Syriac *Anonymous Chronicle to the year 724* in the context of the 458 earthquake,[241] known to have destroyed a large part of Antioch. He is said to have played an important part in stabilizing the situation in the days that followed the earthquake, and to have eventually averted God's anger through his prayers.[242] While we do not have any real indication of Acacius' doctrinal orientation, the fact that he is positively portrayed in an anti-Chalcedonian chronicle could indicate a certain lack of zeal on his part in implementing the decisions of Chalcedon.

[239] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 20, 33-34; this letter stands in contrast with the responses from the neighboring provinces of Syria II and Osrhoene, which remained quite reserved in professing their approval of Chalcedon, and omitted all specific doctrinal details. Similarly, the bishops of Mesopotamia wrote that they approve of Chalcedon because "nihil in symbolo fidei expositae Nicaea a sanctis trecentis XVIII patribus est adiectum"
[240] *Ibid.* 20, 33-34. "His enim qui divinitatis unigeniti naturam passibilem esse calumniantur, responsionem contrariam obiciunt inconvertibilem et inmutabilem substantiam dei docentes."
[241] The exact dating of the earthquake is disputed. See discussion in *Evagrius*, fn. 131, 94-95; see also G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), fn. 7, 477.
[242] *Chronicon ad annum Domini 724 pertinens*, in *Chronica Minora* II, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 3, 4, ed. and tr. E.W. Brooks and J.-B. Chabot (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1904), 109.

1.2. 469-471: The conflict over the Theopaschite Trisagion

1.2.1. Antioch between 469 and 471: preliminary remarks

Between 459? and 471 the see of Antioch was occupied by Martyrius. The reports regarding those years are somewhat more generous, but still rather lacunar. The largest part of the preserved evidence pertains to the late years of Martyrius' office, 469-471.

On a positive note, we learn that Martyrius was the one who ensured that Simeon Stylites' body was brought to Antioch after the saint's death on 2 September 459.[243] However, most reports concentrate on less positive aspects, namely the controversies that afflicted Antioch during his episcopal office.

Zacharias refers to Martyrius as an "avowed Nestorian," meaning probably that Martyrius was a strong advocate of the Council of Chalcedon.[244] The most generous amount of information on Martyrius can be collected from John Rufus' *Plerophories*. From this text we learn that there existed quite a few disputes in Martyrius' time, and that the orthodox (i.e., anti-Chalcedonian) population of Antioch received significant support from the monastic communities outside of the city:

> At the time of Martyrius, a Nestorian and a bishop, who was chased away from Antioch on account of his incontestable heresy, a time when there were many conflicts in the city, the bishop Nonnus, whom we mentioned earlier, showed himself full of zeal. While he was still an archimandrite, **he took his monks, came to Antioch and was of great help to the orthodox until Martyrius the heretic was chased away from the city.**[245]

This is a crucial piece of evidence regarding Martyrius' career that has not been given the attention it deserves in secondary literature focusing on this period. For the history of the

[243] E.g., *Evagrius* I, 13, 36-37.
[244] *Zacharias* IV, 11, 80.
[245] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 89, 144-145. Emphasis mine.

controversies over the Theopaschite Trisagion it provides significant elements of contextualization, as will be noted later in this chapter.

More importantly, John Rufus provides certain details regarding the subject matter of these disputes. We learn that they focused, on at least one occasion, on the liturgy. In administering the Eucharist, the anti-Chalcedonians apparently refused to pronounce the words "the body of Christ," but preferred to say the "body of God the Word," or "the body of Christ, the Word of God and Our Saviour."[246] They had to do this, Rufus argues, in order to counter the actions of certain impious men who, at the time of Martyrius of Antioch, in administering the Eucharist, were allegedly using the formula "the body of the just," thus rejecting not only what Rufus identifies as the formulae preferred by the anti-Chalcedonians, but also the more simple and widespread "the body of Christ."[247]

In Jerusalem and Alexandria, imperial intervention had the greatest influence on the outcome of the Christological disputes that took place in the aftermath of Chalcedon. By contrast, in Antioch, although imperial support did play a certain role in the disputes, as discussed below, the ability of each party to anchor its Christological orientation in the liturgy and thus strengthen its position appears to have played a significantly more important role.

In historical terms, the episode narrated by Rufus indicates that both the Chalcedonians and the anti-Chalcedonians were involved in attempts to take over elements of

[246] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 89, 147.

[247] *Ibid.*, 89, 147-148. A interesting conflict regarding the proper words to be used at the time of the Eucharist is also mentioned in a letter sent by Domnus of Antioch to Dioscorus of Alexandria on the eve of Ephesus II: Domnus complained that some Egyptian monks, at the time of the Eucharist, "had the audacity to shout before the congregation and to say – "whether you like it or not, God died." Dioscorus, Domnus complained, supported this type of initiative. Interpreted in light of this, Rufus' story shows that the Cyrillians had consistently maintained a strong belief that the paradoxical Theopaschite language was the most appropriate type of discourse to accompany the Eucharist. See S.G.F. Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, 354.

the liturgy – in this case, the text that accompanied the administration of the Eucharist – and modify their soteriological foundation, to define them in a manner specific to their Christology and then disseminate them. Such fights were not new in Antioch. A letter sent by Alexander of Hierapolis to Theodoret of Cyrrhus in 434 mentions that two clergymen "preached the Theopaschite heresy openly"[248] in a liturgical context. Certainly, the party that succeeded in imposing an indelible imprint on the liturgy was more likely to attract supporters and to see its Christology prevail. Compared to the discourse of natures, less accessible and less understandable to the lower clergy and to the lay population, the formulas of the liturgy, the phrases that accompanied the Eucharist, and the hymns, by their ritual nature, were more likely to have an impact on the masses. It is in light of this remark that the battle over the Trisagion hymn in 469-471, analyzed below, acquires its full significance.

At Chalcedon, supporters of the Council from the East acclaimed at the end of the first session of the proceedings:

> Many years to the senate! **Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us**. Many years to the emperors! The impious are always routed; Christ has deposed Dioscorus. Christ has deposed the murderer. This is a just sentence. This is a just council. [This is a holy council.] The senate is just, [the council is just]. God has avenged the martyrs.[249]

The Orientals were not simply using a standard rhetorical formula to praise the leaders. They were polemically affirming the newly acquired victory of their Christological position, and were emphatically proclaiming themselves as the legitimate defenders of the Trisagion, while implicitly the adversaries' uses and interpretations of it were illegitimate. They were anchoring their victory in the liturgy.

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[248] *Coll. Casinensis* 235, 171-172.
[249] *The Acts*, vol. 1, 364. The words between parentheses are supplied by the editor from the Latin version.

By interpolating the phrase "who was crucified for us" into the Trisagion hymn "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal," the anti-Chalcedonians obtained a significant victory of their own in the fight over the liturgy in Antioch. From here, the Theopaschite addition would evolve from the subject of a regional dispute over the liturgy to a battle-cry, one that would be more and more present in Christological debates over the following half century. The character who apparently played a vital role in bringing home this victory was Peter the Fuller.

1.2.2. The main player: Peter the Fuller

John Malalas reports that Peter the Fuller had been the *paramonarius* (Church custodian) of saint Euphemia's in Chalcedon.[250] In contrast to this, Zacharias and Theophanes record that he was a presbyter of the church of the martyr St. Bassa at Chalcedon.[251] Pope Gelasius I's *Gesta de nomine Acacii* recounts that Peter had been directing a monastery in Constantinople – an archimandrite, thus – before he had to flee "due to certain accusations."[252] According to the same source, this was in fact the reason why he went to Antioch.[253]

Whether he fled to Antioch[254] or accompanied Zeno to Antioch,[255] or perhaps simply sought an alliance with Zeno while they were both already in Antioch (as plausibly suggested by Schwartz)[256] is again uncertain.

[250] *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association of Byzantine Studies, 1986), 209 (henceforth Malalas, *Chronicle*).
[251] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5056, 176.
[252] *Coll. Avellana* 99 (*Gesta de nomine Acacii*), 450.
[253] *Ibid.*, 99, 450. Cf. also Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 130: "Petrum apud Constantinopolim monasterium gubernasse et hoc propter crimina derelicto Antiochiae refugisse."
[254] *Coll. Avellana* 99, 450.
[255] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5956, 176; G. Downey, *A History of Antioch*, 484-5.
[256] E. Schwartz, *PS*, 182.

Most likely, Peter reached Antioch in 469. Theophanes reports his arrival under the year 463-464. However, Zeno himself was deployed in Antioch after being appointed *magister militum per Orientem*, thus towards the end of the year 469.[257] And since the Christological conflicts involving Peter mentioned in the sources refer to the years 469-471, with no references to the previous years, it is unlikely that he had been present in Antioch since 463.

1.2.3. The main theme: a brief history of the Trisagion; origins, uses, and early controversies

In the East, the Trisagion was used in the liturgy during the Great Entrance.[258] It was also used as an invocation (for example, on the occasion of the ash rain at the time of emperor Leo I)[259] or as an acclamation (the Oriental bishops used it at the end of the first session of the Council of Chalcedon).[260] In the Syriac tradition, the Trisagion represented the seal of the divine office. It was sung at the end of every morning and evening office.[261]

While the examples of the uses of this hymn abound and testify to its popularity, establishing its origins is a more complex issue. The Chalcedonians as well as the anti-Chalcedonians and the Nestorians have their own traditions regarding the origins of the

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[257] See *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, A.D. 395-527, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 1201. E. Schwartz, *PS*, 182. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch*, 484. Zeno had arrived in Constantinople in (or shortly before) 466 (M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos (475-476) im Kontext der aufsteigenden monophystischen Kirche," *Antiquité Tardive* 5 (1997): 211-221, 211).

[258] For an extensive survey of the uses of the Trisagion, see S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion: Une formule brève en liturgie comparée," in *Acts of the International Congress "Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years After Anton Baumstark: 1872-1948*, ed. R.F. Taft and G. Winkler (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 495-562. See also discussion in A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 2, 254-256.

[259] S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 512.

[260] *The Acts*, vol. 1, 364. S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 513-514.

[261] S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 503-504.

Trisagion.[262] Some sources situate revelation at the origin of the Trisagion, while others relate its emergence to specific historical circumstances and admit to its evolution over time.

Among the least contestable theories regarding the origins of the Trisagion is Severus of Antioch's suggestion that the Trisagion evolved from the biblical *Sanctus* of Isaiah 6:3. Severus accepts in his explanation the notion of progressive development, arguing that the hymn itself was relatively new, and that the addition "who was crucified for us" was later added in Antioch to fight the heresy of Nestorius.[263]

The Chalcedonian source *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* mentions that the Trisagion was introduced after the Council of Ephesus (431), during the episcopal office of Proclus of Constantinople (434-446).[264] However, Chalcedonian sources more frequently insist on the notion of revelation and on the divine origins of the Trisagion.[265]

A specific version of this type of explanation based on revelation – which is apparently also the earliest preserved testimony on the origins of the Trisagion – can also be found in Nestorius' *Liber Heraclidis*.[266] Interestingly, Nestorius argues that the Trisagion

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[262] See discussion in S.P. Brock, "The Origins of the *Qanona* "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal" according to Gabriel of Qatar (Early 7th Century)," *The Harp* 21 (2006): 173-185, here 176-178.
[263] Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 125, in *Les Homiliae Cathédrales 120-125*, ed. M. Brière, in Patrologia Orientalis 29 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1960), 232-253, here 249. S.P. Brock ("The Origins of the *Qanona*," 176-177) provides examples from the anti-Chalcedonian tradition (from later authors such as Moshe bar Kepha and Dionysius bar Salibi) that dwell on the apostolic origins of the hymn.
[264] S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 536-7.
[265] S.P. Brock, "The Origins of the *Qanona*," 177-8.
[266] See S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," ; S.P. Brock, "The Origins of the Qanona," 177. Janeras accepts Abramowski's suggestion (*Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 242 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1963)) that the fragments quoted below, as well as other large parts of the *Liber* do not belong to Nestorius himself, but to a later author dubbed Pseudo-Nestorius. Abramowski attributed the first part of the *Liber*, the dialogue with Sophronius, to a monk who lived at the same time as Philoxenus, and dated it more specifically to 484 or 507; the rest of the interpolations she dated to 451-470. See L. Abramowski, "Ps.-Nestorius und Philoxenus von Mabbug," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 77 (1966): 122-125; see also *Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis*, 130. However, in light of more recent research (L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1974), and R.C. Chesnut, "The Two Prosopa in Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heraclidis*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978): 392-409) Abramowski's arguments appear less convincing; see discussion of the history of the arguments regarding the authenticity of the *Liber* in G.A. Bevan, *The Case of Nestorius: Ecclesiastical Politics in the East*

was revealed *in order to fight the Theopaschites.* It is a point of view that certainly finds justification in the content of the hymn: affirming that God is holy, mighty and immortal is implicitly an affirmation of His impassibility.

In the *Liber Heraclidis* Nestorius notes a rise in the zeal of the Theopaschites during his lifetime:

> They were more and more enraged and cruel toward anybody who dared to say that God the Word was impassible, as if they suffered great sorrow because we said that God the Word was impassible and immortal.[267]

In response to this situation, Nestorius relates, God revealed the Trisagion hymn. As internal evidence from the *Liber* serves to establish, it is to the Antiochians that the Trisagion was said to have been revealed. S. Janeras has established that, as far as the time frame is concerned, Nestorius had in mind the period immediately following the Council of Ephesus, perhaps 431-433:[268]

> Since he wanted to make them acknowledge their blasphemy and depart from it, and because they could not do this on their own, God gave them a formula of supplication – which was as follows: "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us." Everybody accepted it unanimously and they abandoned their previous beliefs which were not pleasing to God.[269]

The same *Liber Heraclidis* discusses the fate of those who confessed God to be holy, mighty and immortal under Theodosius II and after his death:

> They were doing justice to God, those who confessed him to be holy, mighty and immortal. However, those who confessed that God was holy, mighty and immortal were being persecuted; they were being stripped of their possessions, they were being exiled and killed, until Theodosius, who had turned himself against God, departed from this world. People then opened their mouths without fear to confess, praise, and adore the God who is holy, mighty and immortal. He who makes Christ God passible and mortal does not confess that Christ is God, but he who attributes to Christ the

428-451 CE, Ph.D. dissertation, 2005, University of Toronto; retrieved 04/01/ 2006; accessed at Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database (Publication No. AAT NR07598), 25-29).
[267] Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* II, 2, 319. S. Janeras. "Le Trisagion," 539.
[268] S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 540.
[269] Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* II, 2, 319.

divinity that he has by nature and confesses him to be God impassible, immortal, mighty and holy in his nature, and passible in his humanity, since he confesses Him to be man by nature.[270]

Nestorius' account is by far the richest in historical details regarding the fate of the Trisagion in the period preceding Chalcedon. Whether this account is mostly or only slightly accurate, it demonstrates that the Trisagion represented cause for unrest even before the Council of 451. The Antiochians used it to fight the Cyrillians. From the *Liber*, it is unclear whether the Cyrillians fought the use of the hymn *per se*, or simply the Antiochian interpretation of it. The second version is certainly more plausible. It is also unclear whether, in addition to a conflict between the Alexandrines and the Antiochians[271] there existed also a local dispute in Antioch over the Trisagion at an early date. However, given our knowledge about other Christological disputes within the patriarchate of Antioch, and about the presence of strong Cyrillian elements there, it is not unlikely that the Trisagion was indeed under dispute before Chalcedon in this region.

If one accepts the hypothesis proposed by the *Liber*, it is difficult to establish exactly at what point the Cyrillians took upon themselves the defense of the Trisagion. However, based on Severus of Antioch's testimony, one can conclude that the Theopaschite interpolation that led to the disputes of the years 469-471 was the first large-scale initiative.

1.2.4. The conflict over the interpolated Trisagion: the course of events and interpretation

Theophanes relates these events in more detail than other sources. According to him, Peter the Fuller

[270] Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* II, 2, 322-323. S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 540-541.
[271] A conflict over Theopaschite matters before Chalcedon is attested by a significant number of other sources, as discussed above in the Introduction.

hired some people of the Apollinarian persuasion and aroused numerous disturbances against the creed and bishop Martyrios. He anathematized those who denied that God had been crucified, and having split the people of Antioch, he added to the thrice-holy hymn the phrase "who was crucified for us," which from that time right up to the present has continued to be said by the Theopaschites.[272]

It is possible to conclude, based on this testimony, that the controversy over the Theopaschite Trisagion may have been associated to a more general attempt by the anti-Chalcedonians to defend Theopaschism. According to Theophanes, Peter anathematized those who refused to confess "that God had been crucified."

The suggestion that it was Peter who "split the people of Antioch" is contradicted by the already discussed story in John Rufus' *Plerophories* about the conflicts that plagued Martyrius' episcopacy before Peter's arrival. The "Apollinarians" referred to in the passage quoted above were undoubtedly the anti-Chalcedonians of Antioch, who had been active in their resistance against Martyrius and Chalcedon all along. It is unlikely that they needed pecuniary incentives, as Theophanes suggested, to act as they did.

In light of the analysis carried out above regarding the Christological controversies during Martyrius' episcopacy, Theophanes' insinuation that Peter the Fuller built a vile base of power in Antioch, which he then used to impose *his* Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion appears to be an attempt to dismiss an important victory obtained by the anti-Chalcedonians in Antioch at the end of several years of struggles.

Theophanes' attempt is in fact similar to the one made by the author of the *Chronicle of Seert*, for example, who claimed that "The doctrine of the Theopaschites was not at all known in the East, where people adhered to the orthodox faith that Addai, Mari, and their pious successors had transmitted."[273] In a similar vein, the Chalcedonian historian Evagrius

[272] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5956, 176.
[273] *Chronique de Séert*, 104.

omits this series of events altogether in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Allen has argued[274] that this omission was intentional: Evagius wanted to eliminate altogether this (to the Chalcedonians) embarrassing episode from the history of the patriarchate of Antioch.

Theophanes continued his account in this manner:

> Martyrios went to the emperor Leo and was received with much honour by the efforts of Gennadios, bishop of Constantinople. After returning to Antioch and **finding the people in revolt and Zeno lending them aid**, he resigned from his bishopric in front of the congregation, saying, "With the clergy insubordinate, the people disobedient, and the Church polluted, I resign, keeping for myself the dignity of the priesthood." When he had gone, Peter the Fuller leaped upon the throne of Antioch [...].[275]

As to Zeno, opinions regarding his doctrinal convictions vary considerably. E. Schwartz has argued that the future emperor was a "popularity-thirsty, theologically uneducated general."[276] M. Redies, in his valuable article on Basiliscus, has argued to the contrary: that Zeno's mind was set against Chalcedon from the very beginning and that he was highly determined in this direction. He sees a coherent endorsement of the same doctrinal program behind all of Zeno's actions.[277] Schwartz was probably closer to the truth. Zeno and Peter each sought the other's support for a consolidation of their respective positions. The possibility is also not excluded that, in supporting Peter the Fuller, Zeno, at that time a *magister militum*, was also motivated by an intuition of (or even acquaintance with) emperor Leo I's doctrinal preferences.[278]

Crystallized around Peter the Fuller and apparently enjoying the support of Zeno, the party that supported the Thepaschite addition to the Trisagion soon gained the upper hand in Antioch. In the passage quoted above, Theophanes suggests that this party included

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[274] See *Evagrius* fn. 15, 137.
[275] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5956, 176. Emphasis mine.
[276] E. Schwartz, *PS*, 182.
[277] M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos," 213.
[278] As was seen in Chapter 1, emperor Leo I favored the anti-Chalcedonians on a number of occasions, and his doctrinal leanings were not as unambiguously pro-Chalcedonian as generally portrayed.

clergymen and laics. But the monastic element, mentioned by John Rufus in the context of the disputes over the text that was to accompany the Eucharist, was certainly significant as well. It was in fact so significant that an edict was issued on 1 June 471 forbidding monks to travel to Antioch and other cities, and to stir unrest. The apocrisiaries remained the only ones allowed to travel, but the edict specifically forbade their involvement in doctrinal discussions.[279] John Rufus, in a text we have seen before, provides additional information on what probably constituted the context in which this edict was issued:

> [the archimandrite Nonnus] took his monks, came to Antioch and **was of great help to the orthodox until Martyrius the heretic was chased away** from the city.[280]

This text points to the fact that the monks were key players in the disputes that were taking place in Antioch. What John Rufus defines as "great help to the orthodox" likely involved a fair number of violent acts that called for imperial intervention and legislative initiative.

Additionally, Zacharias mentions that "some monks went on a mission to the king about the matter of Martyrius."[281] It is therefore not unlikely that the imperial edict was ultimately issued as a reaction to the disturbing presence of Antiochian monks in Constantinople.

If Zacharias' account is accurate, and a group of monks did indeed go to Constantinople to protest against Martyrius, this confirms that the monastic following of the anti-Chalcedonians in Antioch was considerable, and that the involvement of the monks in the disputes was significant.

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[279] *Codex Iustinianus* I.3.29, ed. P. Krüger (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877), 36-37.
[280] *Plerophories* 89, 144-145. The final part of this fragment seems to infirm Theophanes' affirmation that Martyrius resigned of his own initiative. Emphasis mine.
[281] *Zacharias* IV, 11, 81-82.

However, both sides had to conduct intense lobbying in order to retain the loyalty of their supporters. And yet defections did occur. The same Nonnus, the anti-Chalcedonian hero of the fragment from the *Plerophories* quoted above, is later found on Calandion's side (the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch between 481 and 485), "calling Christ a *theophoros* man and an assumed man, and calling the holy Virgin *Christotokos*."[282]

That the anti-Chalcedonian party became a major force in Antioch toward the end of the 460s is suggested by the fact that Martyrius needed to take his case to Constantinople and plead for his rights before the emperor and the bishop of the capital. The immediate comparison that comes to mind is that with Juvenal of Jerusalem's situation upon his return to the see of Jerusalem after the Council of Chalcedon. A well-organized opposition prevented him from even residing in Jerusalem, let alone retaking possession of his see.[283] Under these circumstances, he decided to return to Constantinople. Had it not been for imperial intervention, he would not have been able to recover his see. Martyrius must have been under similar pressure from the anti-Chalcedonian party in Antioch when he left for Constantinople, but the outcome of his problems was less fortunate than in the case of Juvenal.

It is quite plausible that, having presented his case in Constantinople, Martyrius immediately received Gennadius' sympathy and favour, and through Gennadius' intervention, the sympathy and favour of the emperor. Gennadius' strong Chalcedonian leanings were well known. Accused by Zacharias and by other anti-Chalcedonian authors of being a Nestorian, and reported by Facundus of Hermiane even to have composed a work against Cyril of Alexandria's writings (apparently long before his appointment as bishop of

[282] *Plerophories* 89, 146.
[283] *Zacharias* III, 3, 50.

Constantinople, around 431-432),[284] Gennadius had actively supported Timothy Aelurus' deposition and exile, and, no doubt, was prompt to offer his support to the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch.

The dates of Martyrius' trip to Constantinople are unknown. The year 470 appears to be a reasonable suggestion. Upon his return, Theophanes reports, Martyrius resigned, accepting the fact that he could not defeat the anti-Chalcedonians, nor could he regain control of Antioch.[285] A synod convened in Seleucia proclaimed Peter the Fuller bishop of Antioch, as we learn from John Diakrinomenos.[286]

Zacharias gives a different, more detailed account of the end of Martyrius' episcopacy:

> But the king ordered that the blessed Mary should be proclaimed and written in the book of life as Theotokos, on account of Martyrius of Antioch, who was an avowed Nestorian, and would not now consent to teach these things, who also was deposed.[287]

This notice is not confirmed by other authors and has been ignored by modern scholars. However, bits and pieces of information from other sources seem to make it less far-fetched than it would appear at first glance. The extant legislation from the period does not preserve a decree of emperor Leo I regarding the *Theotokos*. Nevertheless, a fragment from Theodore Lector informs us that, on Leo's order, patriarch Gennadius had to allow the title *Theotokos* to go on the diptychs.[288] It is possible that emperor Leo's initiative was inspired (or at least

[284] Facundus of Hermianae, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum libri XII ad Iustinianum*, II, IV, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 90A, ed. I.-M. Clément and R. Vander Plaetse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 3-398, (text accessed at Brepolis online Library of Latin Texts; http://clt.brepolis.net).
[285] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5956, 176.
[286] Fragments from John Diakrinomenos edited in *Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. Hansen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971), no. 540, 154. See discussion of the evidence in E. Schwartz, *PS*, 182; M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos," 213, fn.19.
[287] *Zacharias* IV, 11, 80.
[288] See E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431,* 175. See also Facundus of Hermianae, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* II, IV. According to Facundus, Gennadius refuted Cyril's *Anathemas*; in response to the First Anathema ("If anyone does not confess the Emmanuel to be truly God, and hence the holy virgin to be Mother

encouraged) by the group of disaffected anti-Chalcedonians who had broken communion with the "Nestorian" Gennadius, and were led by Acacius, the future bishop of Constantinople.[289]

The same synod gathered in Seleucia that ordained Peter the Fuller probably condemned and/or deposed Martyrius (whether or not he indeed resigned, as Theophanes reports, is not entirely clear, and his resignation may have been included in the story simply on account of the dramatic nature of this gesture, meant to exemplify the wisdom of the protagonist), and it is not out of the question that one of the heads of accusation was, as Zacharias reports, his refusal to accept certain liturgical reforms regarding the *Theotokos*.

For the "Theopaschites," the doctrine of the *Theotokos* had always enjoyed a place of honour. Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, for example, are framed by these two ideas: that the holy virgin, Mother of God, begot the Word of God made flesh (First Anathema), and that God the Word suffered, was crucified, and tasted death in the flesh (Twelfth Anathema). The "Theopaschites" were equally fond of both affirmations. Thus, next to emperor's Leo reported initiative regarding the *Theotokos*, it is not surprising to find a similar initiative by Peter the Fuller.

John Diakrinomenos relates that Peter the Fuller was the author of several liturgical reforms, among which was the requirement that the *Theotokos* should be addressed in every prayer (ἐν ἑκάστῃ εὐχῇ τὴν Θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι).[290] The date of this reform is not

of God (for she gave birth in the flesh to the Word of God made flesh), let him be anathema." tr. J.A. McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, 273) Gennadius presumably wrote "anathematizaturus est te deus, paries dealbate" (cf. Acts 23:3: "percutiet te Deus paries dealbate").
[289] Zacharias writes about this group (IV, 11, 80): "In consequence of these writings [Gennadius' Nestorian writings], those persons who understood the matter left Gennadius of Constantinople and joined in communion with Acacius the presbyter and Master of the Orphans, the brother of Timocletus the composer, who joined the believers, and strenuously opposed the Nestorians; and he also set verses to music, and they used to sing them. And the people were delighted with them, and they flocked in crowds to the Orphan Hospital."
[290] John Diakrinomenos, no. 547, 155.

specified. M. van Esbroeck has attempted to date it to Peter the Fuller's third period of office in the see of Antioch (485-488), but the evidence is not convincing.[291] In light of Zacharias' account of emperor Leo's initiative regarding the *Theotokos*, and supported by the information that Martyrius of Antioch was opposed to this initiative, it appears possible to date this reform by Peter the Fuller to the years 469-471. Martyrius would have thus opposed a liturgical reform that originated from the circle of Peter the Fuller in Antioch; Gennadius may have given Martyrius his support in this matter; required to take a stance, emperor Leo sided with the anti-Chalcedonians (or, in the least, did not support Gennadius and Martyrius), and requested that *Theotokos* should go on the diptychs. Next to the reception of the Theopaschite addition in the Trisagion, this represented another significant anti-Chalcedonian victory.

As Martyrius was being defeated, Peter was fast to capitalize on his victory by setting up a network of anti-Chalcedonian bishops in the patriarchate of Antioch. From Theophanes we learn that he installed John as bishop of Apameia,[292] and John Rufus informs us that Nonnus was ordained to the see of Qennesrin.[293] Despite all this, Peter's success was short-lived. Probably in the second half of 471, on Gennadius' request (thus, before 20 November 471), the anti-Chalcedonian was deposed. The Chalcedonian Julian was ordained in his place.

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[291] M. van Esbroeck, "Peter the Fuller and Cyrus of Edessa," *ARAM Periodical* 12 (1999-2000): 467-474, 473. According to M. van Esbroeck, Peter encouraged the cult of Gregory Thaumaturgus during the second part of his exile (477-485); both this initiative and evidence of the reform concerning the *Theotokos* have left traces on a Georgian homiliary. Based on this, Van Esbroeck has argued that the reform concerning the *Theotokos* must be quasi-contemporary with Peter's promotion of the cult of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and therefore belongs to Peter's third period of episcopacy.

[292] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 5956, 176.

[293] *Plerophories* 89, 145. The account is somewhat ambiguous as to the actual date of Nonnus' ordination; it may have happened around the time of Peter's return to the see of Antioch in 475.

1.2.5. Preliminary conclusions

The handling of the Theopaschite matter in Antioch between 469 and 471 stands in stark contrast to the attitude of the Alexandrian Timothy Aelurus, who, as discussed in the previous chapter, had preferred to approach the issue of Theopaschism with utmost care and a diplomatic use of rhetoric, in a relentless desire to prevent further conflict, and, at the same time, bridge the gap between the anti-Chalcedonians and the imperial church.

The efforts to have the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion sanctioned officially in Antioch were amply successful. The addition never left the liturgy in the East after the events of 469-471, not even under Chalcedonian patriarchs such as Calandion or Flavian of Antioch, a fact which demonstrates its popularity. However, its proponents failed to bring out the unitive potential of this type of discourse on this occasion. As was shown in the first part of this chapter, the Theopaschite controversy in Antioch was driven by a regional conflict over the liturgy between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians. While there is evidence of imperial reaction to and intervention in the events surrounding the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion, both favorably and unfavorably, as was discussed in this section of the chapter, the conflict remained largely contained within the borders of the patriarchate of Antioch, and attracted a merely regional interest at first. Theopaschism would not assume a central place in Christological controversies for another decade. The publication of imperial edicts that attempted a rapprochement with the anti-Chalcedoniansm, discussed below, was one of the key factors in this development.

For the time being, Alexandria, with its reserved attitude on the issue of Theopaschism, as initiated by Timothy Aelurus, would continue to play a more important part in the greater scheme of things. Above all, it would exert the most significant influence

on the next two attempts at producing statements of faith aimed at unification of the imperial Church: the *Encyclical* and the *Henoticon*, composed between 475 and 482. Without these developments, the issue of Theopaschism would have probably had an entirely different history on the stage of Christological controversies and ecclesiastical politics at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century.

2. The *Encyclical* and the *Henoticon*: orthodoxy redefined (475-482)

The two documents aimed at strengthening the unity of the imperial Church after the unfortunate rift that followed Chalcedon, the *Encyclical* and the *Henoticon*, are schematically characterized in secondary literature as anti-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian, respectively. This simplification does not allow for a full and proper contextualization of the two documents. An in-depth analysis of the documents and of the context in which they were produced reveals a considerably different picture.

The following discussion points to the existence of a strong anti-Chalcedonian influence and of an "Alexandrian connection" in the composition of each of the two documents. A proper understanding of the context in which these documents were produced and of the manner in which they redefined orthodoxy is particularly important to the understanding of the history of Theopaschite discourse post-482. The remarkable receptivity of the imperial court to anti-Chalcedonian discourse after Chalcedon, much higher than previously thought, as will be seen below, influenced to a large extent the reception of Theopaschite discourse in the last two decades of the fifth century and the first two decades of the sixth century.

2.1. The *Encyclical*

After the death of emperor Leo I on 18 January 474, his grandson Leo II, the son of his daughter Ariadne and of the *magister militum* Zeno, became emperor in Constantinople. Zeno became co-emperor on 9 February 474, and then sole emperor of the Eastern Empire on 17 November 474, upon his son's premature death. A coup led by his mother-in-law Verina, the widow of Leo I, who wanted to install her protégé Patricius as emperor in Constantinople, forced Zeno to leave the capital on 9 January 475.[294] An unexpected turn of events twisted the situation in favor of Basiliscus, Verina's brother, who became emperor the day following Zeno' flight.

During this same period, a delegation of Alexandrian monks was sent to Constantinople to obtain from Zeno the return of Timothy Aelurus.[295] By the time they reached Constantinople, Basiliscus had replaced Zeno on the throne of the empire. The Alexandrians had a strong connection in Constantinople: one of the monks, Theopompus, was the brother of Theoctistus, Basiliscus' highly-regarded physician, who had been appointed *magister officiorum* after the coup.[296] They obtained from the emperor Timothy's recall. The exiled bishop of Alexandria must have reached Constantinople in March 475.[297]

On 6 April 475, a document of faith was issued. Zacharias gives the following details about its composition:

> becoming intimate both with Basiliscus and his wife, Timothy, along with those who happened to be there with him and on his behalf, persuaded the king, so that he consented to write encyclical letters, in which he would anathematise the *Tome* and

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[294] For the dating of the events of 475-476, I have primarily used the chronology provided by M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos."
[295] *Zacharias* V, 1, 103-4.
[296] *Ibid.*, V, 1, 104.
[297] M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos," fn. 46, 215.

the addition which was made at Chalcedon. For Paul the monk, who was a rhetorician and a sophist, drew them up.[298]

The document was then circulated in the Eastern Empire. It received immediate approval from bishops everywhere. According to Zacharias, 700 signatures of approval were appended to it.[299]

Numerous details in the content of the *Encyclical* point to Timothy Aelurus' direct influence on (or perhaps even involvement in) the composition of this document. The text concentrates on a few main points that also represent key elements and themes in Timothy's works (analyzed in Chapter 1): the rejection of Chalcedon and of pope Leo's *Tome* as having followed the doctrines of Nestorius, the reception of the Creed of Nicaea as the sole perfect doctrinal statement, and the rejection of those who did not believe in the reality of the incarnation (the Phantasiasts).

In its main points, the text of the *Encyclical* resembles greatly that of the address sent by Timothy to emperor Leo I in response to pope Leo's so-called *Second Tome*.[300] Interestingly, the main difference between the two texts is represented by a reference to Theopaschism, present in Timothy's address to emperor Leo,[301] and absent in the *Encyclical*. The architect of the *Encyclical* may have recognized that, if one was to aim for unity in the Church, certain compromises had to be made. Avoiding a type of discourse that, particularly in light of the recent conflicts over Eutychianism, still stirred considerable unrest among both clergy and laics was one of them. Thus a Theopaschite reference may have been purposely avoided. The text of the *Encyclical* is also very similar in content to that of the profession of

[298] *Zacharias* V, 1, 104.
[299] *Ibid.*, V, 2, 107. *Evagrius* III, 5, although he admits to having taken his information from Zacharias, gives the number 500.
[300] *Zacharias* IV, 6, 72-3.
[301] *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 72 "And I pray that this letter may be annulled, so that God Christ may be purely confessed by all tongues that He truly suffered in the flesh."

faith sent by Timothy Aelurus to emperor Leo I through Rusticus, written most likely in the spring of 460, soon before Timothy left Constantinople and headed for Gangra.[302]

The *Encyclical* does not make any reference to the formula "in two natures." Indeed, there was no need for such a reference, since a return to the Creed of Nicaea alone rendered the language of natures unnecessary. From a different point of view, it is possible that the language of natures was purposely avoided in the *Encyclical* for the same reason as Theopaschite language. After all, no mention was made of the one-nature formula either.

Two versions of the *Encyclical* are preserved, one by Evagrius Scholasticus in the *Ecclesiastical History*,[303] and the other by Zacharias' *Syriac Chronicle*[304] and the Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431.[305] As far as the doctrinal part is concerned, the two versions are identical. Some differences occur, however, in matters regarding hierarchical authority and the canon of recognized councils. The version preserved by Zacharias and the Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431 explicitly mention the Second Council of Ephesus (449), which was to be accepted and recognized as an ecumenical council. Ephesus II and Dioscorus were placed in what could be characterized as "good company:"

> [...] the faith which was also confirmed by the transactions of the two Councils at Ephesus, along with the chief priests of Rome and Alexandria, Celestine and Cyril, and Dioscorus, in condemnation of the heretic Nestorius.[306]

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[302] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 241-242: "I anathematize all heresies, and also those who say that Our Lord's flesh came from heaven, or that it is merely an appearance, or that it did not have a rational soul. I also reject the letter of Leo, leader of the Church of the Romans, who introduced a division in the indivisible one, Our Lord Jesus Christ. On account of this, I also reject the Council of Chalcedon. For I have been baptized and I baptize according to the confession of the 318 holy fathers of Nicaea. This is what I preach and this is what I believe in, without any addition or change, and I am in communion with those who hold the same belief. For the faith has not become outdated and is not in need of being renewed. I do not dare say that there are two natures in God who took a body and became man from the Holy Virgin, Mother of God. Above all, I confess the unshakable and life-giving faith of the Incarnation, while I contemplate de indivisible mystery."

[303] *Evagrius* III, 4, 134-7.

[304] *Zacharias* V, 2, 105-7.

[305] E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 49-52.

[306] *Zacharias* V, 2, 106. At the same time, this statement emphasizes Alexandria's long history of fighting heresy, as the leading see in ecumenical councils. The Miaphysites emphasized their respect for Pope Celestine

The version in the Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431 also contains a reference to the canons of Nicaea, which, the *Encyclical* indicates, needed to be upheld.

E. Schwartz has convincingly argued that the differences between the extant versions of the *Encyclical* are not related to the history of the transmission of the document, but, rather, represent meaningful variations.[307] According to Schwartz, the document preserved by Evagrius represents a modified form of the original document, one that became known only in Constantinople soon before Zeno returned to the capital. It was probably composed outside of Timothy's supervision, and was intended to be seen as acceptable by Acacius, the bishop of the capital. Schwartz sees this document as a precursor of the Counter-Encyclical. It still condemned Chalcedon, which, by extension, meant that the thorny Canon 28 remained contested. However, it omitted the Second Council of Ephesus (449), and left out all mention of the canons of Nicaea (a reference which overturned the rights of the see of Constantinople).[308]

It is nevertheless possible to hypothesize that the document preserved by Evagrius may have been in fact the initial version of the Encyclical. The lack of references to Ephesus II and the canons of Nicaea were perhaps attempts to make it palatable in Constantinople. However, as Acacius refused to accept this document as a basis for compromise, a stronger version was drafted, one that undermined the newly acquired rights of the see of Constantinople more explicitly, namely the version preserved in Zacharias and Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431.

as one who had agreed in everything with Cyril; see "Histoire de Dioscore patriarche d'Alexandrie écrite par son disciple Théopiste," tr. F. Nau, *Journal asiatique* X, 1 (1903): 241-310, here 5, 252.
307 E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 133-135.
308 *Ibid.*, 133.

Soon after the publication of the *Encyclical*, perhaps due to unfavorable circumstances he encountered in Constantinople (e.g., Acacius' lack of sympathy and a conflict with a group of Phantasiasts/Eutychians protected by Empress Zenonis),[309] Timothy Aelurus left the capital (in late spring 475), and summoned a council in Ephesus in the fall of the same year. The version of the *Encyclical* preserved by the Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431 represents, most likely, a faithful copy of the document submitted for approval to the bishops gathered in Ephesus. This document does not make explicit reference to the unjustified ambitions of the see of Constantinople. However, by citing the canons of Nicaea, it indirectly criticized the newly acquired rights of Constantinople. Indeed, in Ephesus, one of the sees which had lost privileges at Chalcedon, such a reference was likely to increase the popularity of the document.

After the synod of Ephesus in the fall of 475, events unfolded in a manner that proved to be disastrous for the anti-Chalcedonians. Acacius grew progressively more concerned with the situation. Thus, when pope Simplicius became involved in this situation toward the end of 475, and expressed his concern over the state of affairs in the East, Acacius' choice was not a difficult one. In this, he had on his side the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who had been the ones to inform Simplicius initially about the situation in the East.[310] The fact that Basiliscus probably encouraged the replacement of Acacius on the throne of

[309] *Zacharias* V, 4, 109-110.

[310] If one considers the version of the *Encyclical* preserved by Evagrius to have predated the one in Zacharias and Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431, as I suggested above, it is easier to understand the delay in Acacius' protests. While he had not accepted even this initial, weaker version of the *Encyclical*, he nevertheless felt perhaps that there existed ground for negotiations. After he learned about the course of events in Ephesus, it became clear that he could no longer stir this situation in his favor, and therefore acted more determinedly against Timothy and his party.

Constantinople with the Alexandrian Theopompus,[311] the brother of the new *magister officiorum*, must have also had an influence on Acacius' choice.[312]

Under pressure from the population of the capital (increased by a dramatic appearance by Daniel the Stylite, who commended patriarch Acacius and Chalcedon),[313] Basiliscus had to leave Constantinople around March 476.[314] He went to the Hebdomon, on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus from Constantinople, and remained there until July 476, when news of Zeno's return reached him.[315]

Feeling that he was rapidly losing ground, Basiliscus tried to bridge the rift with patriarch Acacius. Consequently, he published a retraction of the *Encyclical*, the document known as the *Counter-Encyclical* or the *Anti-Encyclical*.[316] On this document, Evagrius comments:

> the latter [Basiliscus] in turn repudiated the Encyclicals, composed an ordinance to the effect that what had been done in haste was completely void, and sent out Counter-Encyclicals which **commended the Synod of Chalcedon.**[317]

He also comments that, because of his anti-Chalcedonian bias, Zacharias purposely left out the *Counter-Encyclical*. But, in fact, the affirmation that the *Counter-Encyclical*

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[311] *Zacharias* V, 5, 112-3. Concerning the situation after the synod convened at Ephesus, Zacharias comments: "But Acacius of Constantinople, having heard respecting Paul of Ephesus that the rightful authority of his see, according to its former constitution, had been restored to him by Timothy; and further, that Peter had returned to Antioch; and that **they were preparing to hold a Synod against him at Jerusalem with the intention of deposing himself and appointing Theopompus**, brother of the master of the offices, in his stead." Emphasis mine.

[312] According to the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* 70 (*Three Byzantine Saints: Contemporary Biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver*, tr. Elizabeth Dawes and N.H. Baynes (Oxford: Blackwell, 1948), accessed at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/dan-stylite.html Retrieved May 9, 2006) and Malchus, fr. 9, 3 (ed. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus, 2 vols.* (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1981-1983), vol. 2, 416), Basiliscus unsuccessfully tried to have Acacius arrested at this point, a clear sign that a rift had occurred between the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople (for a more detailed discussion of the sources, and of the dating of this event in particular, see M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos," 217-8).

[313] *Life of Daniel the Stylite*, 83-84.

[314] Detailed discussion in M. Redies, "Die Usurpation des Basiliskos" 218-9.

[315] *Ibid.* 220.

[316] Preserved in *Evagrius* III, 7, 141-142 and in the Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431 (E. Schwartz, *Codex vaticanus gr. 1431*, 52).

[317] *Evagrius* III, 7, 141. Emphasis mine.

"commended the Synod of Chalcedon" is in fact nothing more than Evagrius' interpretation of a text that is not only not outspoken on this matter (i.e., there is no explicit mention of Chalcedon in the *Counter-Encyclical*), but seems in fact to tip the balance in favor of the anti-Chalcedonian party. The text of the *Counter-Encyclical* as quoted by Evagrius reads:

> The apostolic and orthodox faith which prevailed in the universal churches from aforetime and from the beginning, which both prevailed up to our reign and prevails under our reign and ought to prevail unto eternity, in which we were baptized and trust, we decree that it alone prevails, as it does indeed prevail, unwounded and unshaken and that it eternally should hold authority in all the universal and apostolic churches of the orthodox, and that nothing else be sought.[318]

This is hardly an affirmation of Chalcedon. The passage dwells on nothing other than the *baptismal faith*, in other words, the faith of Nicaea. This is, one could say, an anti-Chalcedonian statement in disguise. Although implied, the faith of Nicaea is not mentioned here by name as the only valid doctrinal formulation. However, the version of the *Counter-Encyclical* preserved in the Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431 contains one explicit reference to the Symbol of the 318 in the last sentence of the document, omitted in Evagrius.[319] With or without an explicit mention of Nicaea, this fragment is very similar, for example, to what Timothy Aelurus himself had confessed in an address to the emperor that we have seen before:

> "For I have been baptized and I baptize according to the confession of the 318 holy fathers of Nicaea. This is what I preach and this is what I believe in, without any addition or change, and I am in communion with those who hold the same belief. For the faith has not become outdated and is not in need of being renewed."[320]

[318] *Evagrius* III, 7, 141.
[319] E. Schwartz, *Codex vaticanus gr. 1431*, 52.
[320] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 242.

As far as doctrine is concerned, the only other issue that is mentioned in the *Counter-Encyclical* is the repudiation of "Nestorius and Eutyches, and every other heresy, and all who hold the same opinions."[321] No commendation of Chalcedon is included in the text.

On this occasion, the driving force behind the composition of the official document had certainly been Acacius. The last part of the *Counter-Encyclical* demonstrates this beyond doubt: this section stipulates that the see of Constantinople should retain rights of ordination over the provinces that were previously under its control.[322] It has been argued by Whitby that the text of the *Counter-Encyclical* attests to "Basiliscus' doctrinal neutrality" at this stage of the controversy.[323] I would however argue that, at this stage, due to the threat of Zeno's impending return, Basiliscus was in no position to control the content of this document, and that he probably agreed to whatever Acacius wished to include, as well as to leave out. To Acacius, this was a good opportunity to restore the hierarchical privileges his see had lost over the previous year, while at the same time promoting a doctrinal statement that indirectly overrode Chalcedon.

The *Counter-Encyclical* also stated that the bishops who were in office at that time (some of whom had obtained their ordination unlawfully, as far as Acacius was concerned) were to keep their positions, as long as Constantinople retained the right of ordination for their successors.[324] The fact that he was willing to leave in office Timothy Aelurus, Peter the Fuller and Paul of Ephesus again demonstrates that Acacius was not exactly ill-disposed toward the anti-Chalcedonians. It was with them indeed that his doctrinal leanings lay, but his preference, as the edict published under his influence in 482 would further demonstrate,

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[321] *Evagrius* III, 7, 142.
[322] *Ibid.*, III, 7, 142.
[323] *Ibid.*, fn. 28, 141.
[324] *Ibid.*, III, 7, 142.

was to phase out Chalcedon, rather than to plainly and abruptly pronounce anathema against it, in such a way that, while progressively undermining and eventually obliterating the Council of 451, he could still legitimately claim the same hierarchical privileges for his see as had been granted at Chalcedon.

However, with Zeno's return to power, the reins were out of Acacius' hands. He did not have the necessary time to imprint a certain direction on the course of events between the publication of the *Counter-Encyclical* and the moment when Zeno retook control of the situation. From Zeno's perspective, drastic measures were needed to correct a situation that had caused him enormous embarrassment. In Church matters, he proceeded to reverse Basiliscus' decisions. He issued a decree annulling the *Encyclical*, and he expelled Peter the Fuller and Paul of Ephesus from their sees.[325] His previous alliance with Peter the Fuller and support for the anti-Chalcedonians constituted no impediment to this, thus confirming that the doctrinal convictions held by Zeno were dependant on circumstances (mainly political) rather than grounded in personal, deep-seated beliefs.

In the East, this reversal was not enthusiastically received. Anti-Chalcedonian sources emphatically refer to the support the *Encyclical* continued to enjoy after the publication of the *Counter-Encyclical*, and even after Zeno's return. According to Zacharias, some continued to uphold the *Encyclical* after the retraction. Among those was apparently Anastasius, the patriarch of Jerusalem.[326] This is not confirmed by other sources, but the cold treatment Cyril of Scythopolis (who was otherwise keen to point out the solid relationships that existed between the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the holy men of Palestine) gave

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[325] *Zacharias* V, 5, 113. *Evagrius* III, 8, 143. The decree in question may be *Codex Iustinianus* I.2.16, 23, of 477.

[326] *Zacharias* V, 5, 113: "Anastasius of Jerusalem persevered in his integrity, holding with him the three provinces of Palestine; and he would not give himself over to this party, nor would he deny the Encyclicals; although he freely associated with the bishops who came together to him."

Anastasius in his "Life of Euthymius" seems to indicate that Anastasius' preferences were not exactly of the kind that Cyril would have chosen to emphasize.[327]

John Rufus also endorses the idea that the *Encyclical* enjoyed popularity even after the publication of the *Counter-Encyclical*:

> After the *Encyclical*, many monks and saints from all lands, through the help and grace of Christ, refused to accept the retraction (of this document). And, moved by divine zeal, they kept the orthodox faith.[328]

He includes in the *Plerophories* a rather large number of stories concerning the *Encyclical*,[329] attesting to the considerable influence this short-lived document had had on the anti-Chalcedonians.

A new synod that Timothy Aelurus had planned to summon in Jerusalem as a final validation of the anti-Chalcedonian position never took place. Moreover, after Zeno's return, Timothy's actions were overall restricted. Having returned to Alexandria, he escaped exile only on account of his advanced age. But the new type of "proclamation" document he had inspired would exert a long-lasting influence on ecclesiastical politics in the East, and would eventually strengthen the anti-Chalcedonian movement significantly.

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[327] Cyril remained very elusive on the subject of the *Encyclical* as well (*Life of Euthymius* 62, 10-11, 59). In Cyril's account, we find Anastasius, then a rural bishop, in Empress Eudocia's entourage and service; this would certainly point to his anti-Chalcedonian leanings (*Life of Euthymius* 48, 13-4, 45). Cyril also retells another episode that raises some doubts regarding Anastasius' loyalties: after his consecration as patriarch of Jerusalem, Anastasius wanted to visit Euthymius, and the holy man refused to see him (*Life of Euthymius* 52,10-52-18, 48-9). Cyril is overall very restrained in his remarks and stories concerning Anastasius; this is not the case with patriarchs of Jerusalem that he presented as orthodox. Interestingly, Cyril also suggests that Anastasius died in July of 476, and Martyrius, a Chalcedonian, took over; in fact, Martyrius ascended to the see of Jerusalem only in 478. Perhaps Cyril simply wanted to pass over in silence a period of Anastasius' patriarchate that appeared problematic to a Chalcedonian.

[328] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 45, 98.

[329] See *Ibid.* 44, 95; 45,98; 46, 98; 59,116; 82-4, 137-8; 86,139-40.

2.2. Martyrius of Jerusalem's *Προσφώνησις*

Stemming directly from the *Encyclical* was an enterprise by Martyrius of Jerusalem (478-486) to reconcile the anti-Chalcedonians. Cyril of Scythopolis recounts that the anti-Chalcedonian monastic community of Jerusalem, realizing that they were in error (by casting lots!), decided to return to communion and to join the Church.[330]

However, Zacharias – who also mentions that Martyrius, just like Anastasius, his predecessor, refused to renounce the *Encyclical* – reproduces the text of a *Προσφώνησις* by Martyrius of Jerusalem, a unitive document which is more likely to have effected the reconciliation of the anti-Chalcedonians than the presumed casting of lots.[331] In its doctrinal dimension, the document, at least in the version provided by Zacharias, bears a striking resemblance to the *Encyclical*.

The *Προσφώνησις* emphasizes the idea of unity. Just like the *Encyclical*, it expresses approval for the faith of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus,[332] and it rejects whatever is contrary to this, whether established "in Rimini, or in Sardica, or in Chalcedon."[333] One sentence from the *Προσφώνησις*, "If any man **teaches, or brings in as new, or thinks or interprets, or holds any other definition or faith** contrary to this approved and orthodox doctrine of faith..."[334] seems to have been literally inspired by a passage in the *Encyclical*

[330] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* 67,3-67,20, 64.
[331] *Zacharias* V, 6, 114-116. C.B. Horn (*Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine*, 103) refers to this text as being a sermon. However, the exact nature of it seems to be closer to that of the *Encyclical*, since one of the passages quoted by Zacharias reads: "the confession, signed with your own signatures, lo, it is recorded in Heaven above!" (*Zacharias* V, 6, 116), probably pointing to the fact that the leaders of the anti-Chalcedonians (and perhaps of the Chalcedonians as well) were asked to append their signatures to this document.
[332] The *Προσφώνησις* contains two references to Ephesus. The first one refers without doubt to the First Council of Ephesus (431), but the second one refers more ambiguously to "them of Ephesus," which could in principle include the Second Council of Ephesus as well.
[333] *Zacharias* V, 6, 115.
[334] *Ibid.* V, 6, 115. Emphasis mine.

which rejects those who have perverted the true faith, "**whether by way of definition of the faith, or doctrine, or interpretation, or addition, or whatsoever other innovation.**"[335]

Although it does censure Chalcedon, Martyrius' *Προσφώνησις*, in contrast to the *Encyclical*, does not contain an explicit rejection of pope Leo's *Tome* (or even a reference to it). Unless this was an omission on Zacharias' part,[336] it should be understood as a concession Martyrius made to the Chalcedonians of Jerusalem. Overall, however, this unitive document favors the anti-Chalcedonians much more than it does the Chalcedonians.

While a relatively stable compromise was reached in Jerusalem through Martyrius' initiative, conflicts continued in Alexandria and Antioch, fired not least by the issue of patriarchal succession in these sees. After Peter the Fuller's expulsion (476) and Timothy Aelurus' death (31 July 477), their anti-Chalcedonian successors, John Codonatus and Peter Mongus respectively, were deprived of their offices, and Chalcedonian replacements were ordained in their places. Neither of the two Chalcedonian choices enjoyed popularity. Timothy Salophaciolus, who returned to the see of Alexandria "on the orders of the emperor,"[337] was unable to earn the support of the population, despite the fact that, as Zacharias reports, he was willing to compromise on a number of important aspects:

> Timothy exerted himself by all ways and means to keep the people on his side. He preached the faith of Nicea and of the one hundred and fifty; he confessed and agreed to the transactions of Ephesus; he anathematised Nestorius; and he wrote in the diptych the names of Cyril and Dioscorus, and read them out; and he did more besides, and yet he was unable to draw the people to himself.[338]

[335] *Zacharias* V, 2, 106. Emphasis mine.
[336] The fact that the text is interrupted in the middle by the phrase "And again, the same Martyrius spoke in the following terms [...]" seems to indicate an abridgement. It is indeed possible, given that Zacharias cited an abridged version of the *Προσφώνησις*, that a mention of the *Tome* was left out; however, in light of his own views, it is unlikely that Zacharias omitted a condemnation of pope Leo's *Tome*.
[337] *Evagrius* III, 11, 145.
[338] *Zacharias* V, 5, 114.

Stephen of Antioch had a much worse fate. Malalas recounts that "he was killed with sharpened reeds by his own clergy, for being a Nestorian. This occurred when he had gone out of the city, to the festival of the Forty Martyrs at a place known as that of Barlaam. His corpse was thrown into the river Orontes."[339] Calandion, his successor, appointed by imperial order, also a Chalcedonian, did not enjoy more popularity.

Although neither the *Encyclical* nor the *Προσφώνησις* had large-scale, far-reaching consequences, they had a significant influence on the status of the anti-Chalcedonians in the imperial Church, and boosted their confidence in the righteousness of their cause. These documents took important steps toward incorporating ideas *sine quibus non* in the eyes of the anti-Chalcedonians. Following this line, the next unitive document, issued in Constantinople under the supervision of the court, would truly succeed in bringing anti-Chalcedonian discourse under the umbrella of orthodoxy.

2.3. The *Henoticon*

As the memory of the events of 475-6 started to fade, and as the rebellions against Chalcedon did not decrease in intensity, Constantinople returned to better feelings toward the anti-Chalcedonians. The pretext for this was provided by an incident that occurred in Alexandria. John Talaia, a representative of the Chalcedonian party, came to Constantinople in 481 to request that, upon Timothy Salophaciolus' death, a Chalcedonian be ordained to replace him. He presumable vowed on this occasion that he would not seek the ordination for himself,[340] and, as a result, received the endorsement of the emperor. However, when Timothy

[339] Malalas, *Chronicle* 15, 6, 211.
[340] *Evagrius* III, 12, 145.

Salophaciolus died in February 482,[341] John sought and obtained his ordination to the see of Alexandria.[342]

Evagrius presents the course of events that ensued as follows:

> When the emperor learnt this he ordered that man to be expelled. On the suggestion of certain people he wrote a proclamation to the Alexandrians, which he called *Henoticon*, after decreeing that the see of Alexandria should be granted to Peter [Mongus], if he should subscribe to this and receive into communion those of Proterius' party.[343]

The *Henoticon* turned out to be the most influential unitive document among all those published in the aftermath of Chalcedon in the fifth century. It would be superseded only after the accession of Justin, and then of Justinian, to the throne of the empire. Thus, a proper understanding of the circumstances in which it was produced is crucial to understanding the history of the four decades following its promulgation.

Zacharias provides an essential piece of information in the following passage:

> But the king, when he heard about John, was very indignant, because the latter had belied his sworn promises, and obtained the bishopric for himself. **But there were in Constantinople at that time some chosen monks who were pleading for Peter. And they showed him, by written documents respecting them, the sad afflictions which, time after time, had occurred in Alexandria, and in Egypt, and in the other adjacent districts, on account of the Synod**. And the king acceded to their request, and he issued an order that John should be ejected from the see as a liar, and that Peter should be restored to the Church, upon the condition of his subscribing to the *Henoticon* which Zeno wrote and sent there, and to Egypt, and to Pentapolis, and of his receiving and holding communion with all the other bishops who would agree to the *Henoticon*.[344]

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[341] *Evagrius*, n.41, 146.

[342] *Zacharias* V, 7, 117; *Evagrius* III, 12, 146. Information provided by Liberatus (*Breviarium* XVII, 127) suggests that in the deposition of John Talaia perjury was used as a pretext (Acacius requested "ut Iohannem pelleret ab Alexandrina sede **quasi** eam contra suum iusiurandum, quod in regia civitate dedit, arripuisset." (emphasis mine)); the real reason, according to Liberatus, was the dangerous association of John to the Isaurian Illus, whose credentials with the court were less than enviable (*Breviarium* XVII, 126-127); Illus supported the accession of Basiliscus in 475, then switched sides and helped Zeno to regain the throne; he helped Zeno in defeating Marcian's plot in 479, and again supported a clamant to the imperial throne, Leontius, in 482. Liberatus also states that, upon his consecration as bishop of Alexandria, John sent synodical letters to Illus, but not to patriarch Acacius, a fact which was bound to turn Acacius against John. (*Breviarium* XVII, 126).

[343] *Evagrius* III, 12, 146.

[344] *Zacharias* V, 7, 118. Emphasis mine.

The presence of an Alexandrian anti-Chalcedonian delegation in Constantinople at the time of the publication of the *Henoticon*, mentioned by Zacharias in the passage quoted above, is an important detail omitted by Evagrius.[345] It was most likely a voluntary omission, since the source of his account at this point, as he himself mentions, is Zacharias. It was an omission coherent with Evagrius' desire to present the *Henoticon* as a Chalcedonian document. It was the only manner in which he could remove all possible suspicion that the Alexandrian anti-Chalcedonians had been involved in or had influenced the redaction of the document. Liberatus confirms the presence of anti-Chalcedonian Alexandrians in Constantinople, and even writes: "With the help of Peter [Mongus]' supporters, Acacius convinced Zeno to issue the *Henoticon*. For its publication and implementation he received the help of heretical clergymen representing Peter and laymen found in Constantinople."[346]

An analysis of the text of the *Henoticon* confirms that there existed Alexandrian involvement in the writing of this document, and that Acacius, who probably controlled the composition of the text,[347] was particularly sensitive to the desiderata of the anti-Chalcedonian Alexandrian delegation.

In his *Christ in Christian Tradition*, A. Grillmeier states that "one can justly conjecture that he [Acacius] had the Palestinian *Henosis* [Martyrius of Jerusalem's *Προσφώνησις*] as his model."[348] Before him, E. Schwartz pointed to this connection.[349]

[345] He does, however, mention that it was composed "on the suggestion of certain people" (*Evagrius* III, 12, 146).
[346] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 127. Emphasis mine. A statement preserved by the same Liberatus actually informs that a party of Alexandrians faithful to the recently passed away patriarch Timothy Salophaciolus was also present in Constantinople at this time, and that they associated with Acacius in opposing John Talaia (*Breviarium* XVII, 126).
[347] *Evagrius* III, 13, 146. A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 251.
[348] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 251.

However, Grillmeier also makes a different affirmation, which forms an excellent starting point in the investigation of the composition of the *Henoticon*: "One must notice first of all that the new edict was addressed to the Churches of Egypt and that it received its universal significance (significance for the imperial Church) only through the ecclesiastical policy of emperor Anastasius I." Within this line of thought I argue that, furthermore, the "Alexandrian connection" outweighed the "Palestinian connection" in the writing of the *Henoticon.*

The influence of Timothy Aelurus, and of the Christological trend initiated by him, can be very easily distinguished. Just as in the *Encyclical*, the main themes of his works form the main points of the *Henoticon*. The reference to the baptismal creed, formulated at Nicaea in 325 and confirmed at Constantinople in 381 and at Ephesus in 431, as the only valid confession ("For we are confident that this and only this, as we have said, preserves our empire, and all the people who are judged worthy of the light of salvation are baptized, on receiving this and this alone.")[350] represents, as mentioned before, a common argument in Timothy's works.[351]

The theme of the double consubstantiality is also tackled in the *Henoticon*.[352] Analyzing the reference to the double consubstantiality in the *Henoticon*, Grillmeier argues that Acacius drew his inspiration from the formula of faith of 451. Further, he argues that the issue of the double consubstantiality was "common property," connecting Cyril, pope Leo I, Chalcedon and Timothy Aelurus.[353] However, while these are in principle pertinent suggestions, there is nothing in the extant material from the period to indicate that Acacius

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349 E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939), 370. P. Blaudeau (*Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 203, n. 589) softened this argument, recognizing an Alexandrian connection which possibly underwent Palestinian influence.
350 *Evagrius* III, 14, 148.
351 See, for example, the profession of faith sent by Timothy to emperor Leo I through Rusticus in F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 241-242.
352 *Evagrius* III, 14, 149.
353 A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 254-255.

had any affinities with the doctrine advocated at Chalcedon or with the Christology of pope Leo I. In contrast to this, his anti-Chalcedonian leanings are attested from the very beginning of his career.[354] His respect for Timothy Aelurus is also well documented, and it is much more likely that the reference to the double consubstantiality in the *Henoticon* was directly triggered by the importance of this theme in the works of the Alexandrian.[355]

The use of the phrase "One of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh" also echoes Timothy's Christology. In the texts of the Alexandrian, this phrase has as a corollary nothing else than "One of the Trinity, God the Word, suffered." Perhaps the latter was too ahead of its time for Acacius to be able to include it in the *Henoticon* without risking turmoil, but the former was probably evocative enough for the Alexandrians to look upon the *Henoticon* more sympathetically because of its inclusion.

The rejection of the Phantasiasts in the *Henoticon*[356] calls to mind the same Alexandrian influence. As discussed in the Chapter 1, Timothy was as concerned with the Phantasiasts as he was with the Dyophysites, and wrote extensively against this group. There is evidence that a group of Phantasiasts/Eutychians of Constantinople unsuccessfully tried to rally Timothy's support in 476.[357] This experience, together with the problems Timothy had had to face previously because of the Phantasiasts,[358] probably determined the inclusion of the reference to the Phantasiasts in the *Encyclical*. Even though docetism persisted in one form or another through the following century, there is no evidence that it constituted a

[354] See, for example, *Zacharias* IV, 11, 80.
[355] The other element considered by Grillmeier to be mere "common property," namely the mention of the birth from Mary the Theotokos, was probably also more meaningful than that in the context of the *Henoticon*. In light of the previous discussion included in this chapter (see *supra*, 84-86), one can conjecture that the reference to the Theotokos was not as unproblematic and unpolemical as Grillmeier would want to make it appear.
[356] *Evagrius* III, 14, 149.
[357] *Zacharias* V, 4, 110.
[358] Examples can be found in the *Letter to the City of Constantinople* (Timothy, "Letters," 351-357); *Letter to the City of Alexandria* (Timothy, "Letters," 357-362); *Letter to Faustinus the Deacon* (Timothy, "Letters," 364-366); *Letter to Claudianus the Priest* (Timothy, "Letters," 366-369).

matter of concrete concern at the time of the publication of the *Henoticon*, to allow one to conclude that the reference in the *Henoticon* was related to a contemporary situation. The reference, "those who divide or confound or **introduce an illusion** we utterly refuse to receive,"[359] is therefore used in the *Henoticon* as a standard rejection of heresy, probably without reference to contemporary problems. It seems to be an inherited formula, either directly from Timothy's works or from Timothy by the intermediary of the *Encyclical*. The fact that Martyrius of Jerusalem's address does not contain any mention of the Phantasiasts – provided of course, that a reference of this sort was not simply excised by Zacharias – points even more strongly to an Alexandrian source for the rejection of the Phantasiasts in the *Henoticon*.

The *Henoticon* does not contain an explicit rejection of pope Leo's *Tome*. Timothy had relentlessly rejected this contentious document, and to the Alexandrian anti-Chalcedonians it always remained a non-negotiable issue. Short of explicitly rejecting the *Tome*, and thus stirring discontent in Rome, Acacius subtly included in the *Henoticon* the rejection of only one sentence from the *Tome*, without mentioning its origin: "For we declare to be of one being both the miracles and the sufferings which He endured voluntarily in the flesh." A. Grillmeier has argued that this rejection was not entirely meaningful, especially since the sentence from the *Tome* rejected here had not been included in definition of Chalcedon.[360] To the Alexandrian anti-Chalcedonians, however, this sentence must have been very well-known and, indeed, must have epitomized the heretical character of the *Tome*. It was indeed the sentence Timothy Aelurus returned to more frequently than to any other in

[359] *Evagrius* III, 14, 149. Emphasis mine.
[360] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 254.

his criticisms of the *Tome*. The rejection of this sentence was most likely included in the *Henoticon* as a symbolical rejection of the *Tome* in its entirety.

The *Henoticon* declared Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* canonical.[361] The *Anathemas* had an uncertain status in the aftermath of Chalcedon. The anti-Chalcedonians certainly saw them as part of the official canon of orthodoxy, and declared them canonical at Ephesus II, but, once the decisions of Ephesus II were reversed at Chalcedon, the imperial Church did not grant them this status until 482.

However, there exists evidence that the boundaries were not exactly clear-cut before 482. In their response letter to the *Codex Encyclicus*, the bishops of Armenia I suggested that the *Anathemas* had been "*firmata atque roborata*" in 431 at Ephesus.[362] Vigilius of Thapsus, writing roughly in the same period, attempted to demonstrate that pope Leo's Christology was in agreement with the Christology of the *Anathemas*,[363] proving thereby that he held the *Anathemas* as canonical. Thus, in including them in the *Henoticon*, Acacius probably reckoned that there did not exist any reason to fear opposition to the official inclusion of the *Anathemas* in the canon of orthodoxy.

This inclusion was certainly a concession of great value to the Alexandrians, and, more generally, to the anti-Chalcedonians. Moreover, if one bears in mind that the only council that appears to have approved Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* was the controversial Ephesus II,[364] this inclusion can also be interpreted as a veiled concession to Ephesus II. The council of 449 itself is indeed not explicitly sanctioned (or even mentioned) in the *Henoticon*, just as it had not been explicitly included in the first draft of the *Encyclical*, a document more

[361] *Evagrius* III, 14, 148-9.
[362] *Coll. Sangermanensis* 36, 70.
[363] Vigilius of Thapsus, *Contra Eutychen* V, XIX-XX, col. 0149A-0150C.
[364] *The Acts*, vol. 1, 37.

explicitly anti-Chalcedonian. However, this subtle concession was probably a stimulus for Peter Mongus and the anti-Chalcedonian Alexandrians to accept the document designed by Acacius.

All the individual elements mentioned above point to the existence of an "Alexandrian connection" in the composition of the *Henoticon.* But their Alexandrian origin may in fact be more direct than this. B.M. Ms. Addit. 12156 contains, within the section entitled *The Book of Timothy*, a short document with the heading "Chapters of the Egyptian clergy." It is an anti-Chalcedonian profession of faith. Authorship is not attributed to Timothy Aelurus, but, judging by the content of the piece and by the vicinity in which it was placed by the compiler, it was certainly written under Timothy's influence, and perhaps even during his lifetime.

After a brief introduction, the *Chapters of the Egyptian clergy* continue with a statement of faith which coincides almost *ad litteram* with the main part of the profession of faith contained in the *Henoticon*:

Chapters of the Egyptian clergy	**Henoticon**
We confess and we believe according to the holy symbol of faith of the 318 Fathers who gathered in the city of Nicaea, that was confirmed by the 150 holy Fathers who gathered in the imperial city, and in agreement with what was done, in different directions, in the two councils that took place in the city of Ephesus against the impious Nestorius and those who, later on, held his opinions. **With regard to the unique son of God, true God who became true man, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is consubstantial with the Father in his divinity and the same consubstantial with us in his**	For this reason indeed we have been concerned that you understand that both we and the churches everywhere neither have held, nor hold, nor shall hold, nor do we know those who hold a different creed or teaching or definition of faith or faith except the aforesaid holy creed of the 318 holy Fathers, which the aforementioned 150 holy Fathers ratified. And if indeed anyone should hold one, we consider him alien. For we are confident that this and only this, as we have said, preserves our empire, and all the people who are judged worthy of the light of salvation are baptized, on receiving this and only

divinity, sin excepted, and who descended and took a body from the Holy Spirit and the holy Virgin and Mother of God Mary, we believe and we confess that he is one Son and not two, as we believe that the miracles and the sufferings that he voluntarily endured in the flesh are those of the one and only Son of God. As to those who divide and those who confound, or those who introduce an illusion (fantasi/a), we in no way receive, for the sinless incarnation, that was in truth from the Mother of God, does not add another son, for the Trinity has remained a Trinity even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh. We in truth anathematize all heresies: Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who later thought or still think like them, and the Tome of Leo, leader of the Church of Rome, and everything that was said and done in the council held at Chalcedon.[365]	this. This too was followed also by all the holy Fathers who gathered at the City of the Ephesians[366] who also deposed the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently shared his views. This Nestorius, together with Eutyches, men whose opinions are the opposite to the aforesaid, we too anathematize, accepting also the Twelve Chapters, which were pronounced by Cyril of pious memory, Archbishop of the holy and universal church of the Alexandrians. **And we confess as one and not two the only-begotten Son of God, even God, our Lord Jesus Christ who in truth was made man, consubstantial with the Father in divinity and the same consubstantial with us in humanity, Who came down and was made flesh from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and Mother of God. For we declare to be of one being both the miracles and the sufferings which He endured voluntarily in the flesh. For those who divide or confound or introduce an illusion we utterly refuse to receive, since indeed the sinless incarnation, that was in truth from the Mother of God, did not create an additional entity of the Son. For the Trinity has remained a Trinity even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh.**[367]

A comparison of the passages highlighted above indicates a literary interdependence between the two texts. The dating of the collection preserved in B.M. MS. Addit. 12156,

[365] F. Nau, "Textes monophysites," 240-241.

[366] The reference to those "who gathered at the City of the Ephesians" is used by several authors (see, for example, Martyrius of Jerusalem's *Προσφώνησις*), possibly as a veiled inclusion in the canon of Ephesus II. However, the reference in the *Henoticon* is accompanied by an explanation that arguably makes it less ambiguous: "the holy Fathers who gathered at the City of the Ephesians who also deposed the impious Nestorius **and those who subsequently shared his views.**" Ephesus I had only condemned and deposed Nestorius; it was Ephesus II that condemned "those who subsequently shared his views."

[367] *Evagrius* III, 14, 148-149.

however, raises certain problems regarding the issue of precedence. While W. Wright dated the collection to Timothy's lifetime,[368] E. Schwartz argued that it was put together in the period following the publication of the *Henoticon.*[369] The latter dating could suggest that the compiler may have included in the *Book of Timothy* a modified version of the main section of the *Henoticon*. If this was the case, it would point to the circulation of a forged, more strongly anti-Chalcedonian *Henoticon* in Egypt. But the circulation of a forged *Henoticon* in Egypt (and its publication in a manuscript) under a name different from that of Zeno's edict could hardly have represented an advancement of the anti-Chalcedonian cause. After all, without the title "Zeno's *Henoticon*," this text was hardly more than a most common anti-Chalcedonian profession of faith.

If the *Henoticon* had indeed been forged, it would have been in the best interest of the forger – and of the compiler of the *Book of Timothy* – to promote it as the original *Henoticon*. This is what the compiler of the *Book of Timothy* had done in the case of a forgery attributed to pope Simplicius on f. 2b.[370] It is also difficult to imagine that the *Henoticon* circulated in Egypt in a forged version so soon after its publication, even as the original was being read out in churches and becoming widely known.[371]

A few elements of both internal and external evidence suggest that the *Chapters of the Egyptian clergy* were in fact produced before the *Henoticon*, and that Acacius took over and adapted this profession of faith in the *Henoticon*.

There are three main differences in content between the *Chapters* and the *Henoticon*. First, the *Chapters* explicitly reject pope Leo's *Tome*, while the *Henoticon* rejects it only in

[368] W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838*, 3 vols., (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1870), vol. 2, 640.
[369] E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 127; 131.
[370] See *Ibid.*, 130-1.
[371] See *Evagrius* III, 14, 149

an indirect manner, namely by rejecting one noteworthy sentence of it;[372] second, the *Chapters* explicitly approve of the Second Council of Ephesus (449), while the *Henoticon* may or may not contain a vague endorsement of it;[373] third, while the *Henoticon* explicitly approves of Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, the *Chapters* do not contain any reference to them.

The first two differences could indeed have been justified by a post-482 anti-Chalcedonian reworking of the *Henoticon* in the *Chapters of the Egyptian clergy*. However, there is no conceivable justification for why an Egyptian forging the *Henoticon* would have deliberately excised the approval for Cyril's *Anathemas* from this text. In fact, Peter Mongus seems to have subsequently used the presence of the *Anathemas* in the text of the *Henoticon* in his attempts to have the document sanctioned by the strict anti-Chalcedonians of Egypt. Zacharias notes that Peter, in addressing the people of Alexandria, said:

> And in my public address I explained the Henoticon, and **showed you how it nullified the Synod of Chalcedon, by accepting the twelve Heads of blessed Cyril,** and by anathematising Nestorius, and Eutyches, and every other who would assert the duality of the Natures in Christ, and would ascribe the miracles to one and the sufferings to the other, and would divide the Persons in properties and in operations.[374]

To explain this difference between the text of the *Chapters* and that of the *Henoticon*, it is much more likely that, taking the text of the *Chapters* as a basis for the *Henoticon*, Acacius added the sanction of the *Anathemas* as a "bonus" for the initial addressees of this document, the Egyptians.

The text of the *Henoticon* reads: "Therefore, since the blameless faith thus preserves both us and Roman affairs, **petitions have been brought to us** by God-revering

[372] See *supra*, 109; "For we declare to be of one being both the miracles and the sufferings which He endured voluntarily in the flesh."
[373] See *supra*, fn. 366.
[374] *Zacharias* VI, II, 136.

archimandrites, and hermits, and other respected men."[375] Zacharias' affirmation that the monks presented the emperor with "written documents" showing "the sad afflictions which, time after time, had occurred in Alexandria, and in Egypt, and in the other adjacent districts, on account of the Synod [of Chalcedon]"[376] confirms that the Alexandrian delegation had indeed brought along certain documents which they offered to the emperor (and probably to Acacius) for consultation. It is quite possible that, among these "written documents" that they brought to Constantinople were also the *Chapters of the Egyptian clergy*, in which Acacius perhaps saw a certain potential. Evidently, to Acacius, the risk of being accused of introducing a novelty in the faith – a risk that, as he emphasizes in the *Henoticon*, he desired to avoid[377] – would have been notably reduced if he indeed decided to take an Egyptian doctrinal statement as the basis for the new unitive document he was devising.

The political circumstances and Timothy Aelurus' apparent lack of desire to take into consideration the priorities of the patriarch of Constantinople had caused the *Encyclical*, the first imperially-issued unitive document composed under Alexandrian influence, to fail eventually. However, Acacius recognized the potential this document had had and, in issuing his own unitive document in 482, the *Henoticon*, he wisely employed the main doctrinal elements which, starting with Timothy Aelurus, had come to be most representative of the Alexandrian post-Chalcedonian tradition.

Over a period of two decades, ca. 460-482, the anti-Chalcedonians succeeded in effecting two major changes in the official canon of orthodoxy in the East. The Antiochians

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[375] *Evagrius* III, 14, 148.
[376] *Zacharias* V, 7, 118.
[377] *Evagrius* III, 14, 149: "We have written this not in order to make innovations in the faith but so as to reassure you."

permanently modified the Trisagion hymn by introducing a Theopaschite element, "who was crucified for us;" the anti-Chalcedonian Alexandrians were successful in having their own profession of faith sanctioned in two important official documents. Although both had initially a limited influence, the first remaining for a time of regional interest, and the second being limited, as far as the anti-Chalcedonians were concerned, by Acacius' reluctance to explicitly ban Chalcedon and pope Leo's *Tome*, they would both have an enormous role in reshaping the canon of orthodoxy, as well as religious politics, over the following four decades, and even beyond. Theopaschism, as reconfigured by the Antiochian dispute, would once again reemerge as an important element in Christological controversies. The realm of doctrine as reconfigured by the *Henoticon* would form a solid background against which Theopaschite discourse could now be defended and legitimized.

Chapter 3: 482-518: Theopaschism After the Publication of the *Henoticon*

The years 482-518 are characterized by a growing confidence in the use of Theopaschite discourse among anti-Chalcedonians. In this period, Theopaschism moved beyond the narrower realm of the liturgy in which it represented a subject of debate before 482, and re-entered the domain of Christological controversy. Antioch remained the center stage for these developments, while Alexandria, torn by conflict despite the publication of the *Henoticon*, lacks evidence of substantial doctrinal controversies or theological developments in this period. Philoxenus of Mabbug's attempts at legitimizing Theopaschite discourse outside the liturgical context eventually contributed to a more widespread acceptance for this type of discourse outside of Antioch and beyond anti-Chalcedonian circles. A good understanding of this period is important for the contextualization of the controversy over the Theopaschite phrase "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh," which took place in 518-520, and which eventually led to the introduction of this Theopaschite formula into the canon of orthodoxy of the imperial Church by Justinian.

1. Alexandria in the aftermath of the publication of the *Henoticon*

The situation in Alexandria remained tense after the publication of the *Henoticon*. Communion with Constantinople had been restored, but the desired restoration of peace in the Egyptian Church, which had prompted the publication of the *Henoticon* in 482 and the ordination of Peter Mongus in Alexandria, turned out to be a matter infinitely more complicated than either patriarch Acacius or emperor Zeno had imagined.

Evagrius' description of Peter Mongus as an "opportunist and unstable, a man who adapted himself to the occasion" and who "was far from holding fast to a single opinion" [378] – in itself biased and thus not of any significant historical value – summarizes well the reception this anti-Chalcedonian patriarch received in the Eastern Empire, including in Alexandria, from the publication of the *Henoticon* until his death in 489, and even beyond (Severus of Antioch retained an antipathy to Peter that was certainly not unrelated to this image). With imperial support, however, he succeeded in remaining in office and avoiding the fate of exile his anti-Chalcedonian predecessor in the see of Alexandria, Timothy Aelurus, had endured.[379]

The *Henoticon*, a document which, as was discussed in the previous chapter, was in fact primarily composed under Alexandrian influence, became a stumbling block in Egypt due to its failure to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon and pope Leo's *Tome* explicitly. The opposition consisted of strict anti-Chalcedonians in Alexandria, a large number of whom were monks. According to Zacharias, this same group was similarly discontented with one of the most significant achievements of the *Henoticon*: they blamed Peter Mongus for communicating (largely on the basis of their adherence to the *Henoticon*) with the archbishops of the other major sees of the East, since the synodical letters based on which the communion had been established did not contain an explicit anathematization of Chalcedon and of the *Tome*.[380] Peter Mongus nurtured a desire for unity similar to, if not stronger than, that of Timothy Aelurus, and it is likely that the party that opposed him was essentially the same that had nullified Timothy Aelurus' attempts at bringing repenting members of the

[378] *Evagrius* III, 17, 151.
[379] For the career of Peter Mongus, see discussion in P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople, passim*, esp. 206-236.
[380] *Zacharias* VI, 1, 133 and VI, 2, 136. Severus of Antioch also criticized Peter because of this. See Severus, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters* IV.2, 255.

Proterian party to unity, and had later vilified him by advertising his association with an extreme Miaphysite position verging on Eutychianism.

One of the immediate consequences of these tensions was a switch of focus from doctrinal controversies to issues of ecclesiastical politics and discipline. A lack of information regarding Christological controversies of any significant theological depth that may have taken place in Alexandria is characteristic of this period. The only two elements that appear constantly in the sources are the disputes over the necessity of outspokenly rejecting the Council of Chalcedon and pope Leo's *Tome*. The mention of these disputes is nowhere accompanied by references to deeper theological discussions. The historical context, by contrast, is rather well documented.

According to Evagrius, after his ordination to the see of Alexandria Peter Mongus kept playing a double game in order to be able, on the one hand, to remain in communion with the other major sees that had accepted the *Henoticon* (Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem), and, on the other hand, to prevent the strict anti-Chalcedonians of Alexandria from separating themselves from the official Church. In Evagrius' words, Peter was "now anathematizing the Synod of Chalcedon, now uttering a recantation and accepting it wholeheartedly."[381]

Liberatus, in his turn, mentions the same double game, without however insisting on the repeated anathematizations and recantations: "Peter Mongus [...] anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and pope Leo's *Tome*. He did all this even though he had already written to Acacius and Simplicius that he was in communion with them and [accepted] the holy council."[382] According to Liberatus, Peter was able to retain his position by providing

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[381] *Evagrius* III, 17, 151.
[382] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 130.

reassurances in Constantinople that he approved of Chalcedon, and, at the same time, vouching in Alexandria for the fact that he rejected it.[383]

It is difficult to establish whether, and on how many occasions, Peter pronounced explicit anathemas against Chalcedon and the *Tome*. It is even more difficult to establish, however, whether he actually ever committed such anathemas to writing. This is largely due to the fact that, out of what seems to have been an extensive corpus of writings belonging to Peter Mongus, extremely little has been preserved.[384] It is nevertheless unlikely that, adopting a duplicitous attitude of the kind suggested by Evagrius, Peter would have indeed been able to retain Acacius' support. It is also doubtful that he was able to hide his duplicitous attitude, as Liberatus suggested.

It is however very likely that, perhaps late in his career, Peter did submit to writing an explicit anathema of Chalcedon and the *Tome*. Severus of Antioch, who disliked Peter due to the latter's adopting a blameworthy "course of silence," in addition to his embracing communion with bishops who had not explicitly condemned Chalcedon, confirms this in a letter addressed to Ammonius, a presbyter of Alexandria:

> Whereas you say of Peter who was bishop of your city that **he wrote to those who were at one time and another bishops of the city of Antiochus, and openly**

[383] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 131.
[384] Zacharias preserves a letter sent to patriarch Fravitta of Constantinople (*Zacharias* VI, 6, 143-146) and fragments of an address to a group of Alexandrians (VI, 2, 136-7). Forged letters between Peter Mongus and Acacius have been preserved in Coptic and Armenian, with the Armenian being probably a third-hand translation from Greek, through Syriac (see P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 374-378). A letter addressed by Peter to Acacius is preserved in *Evagrius* III, 17, 151-153, unattested elsewhere. P. Blaudeau has contested the authenticity of this letter, arguing that it actually originated from Acacius' circles, and was meant to attract Roman support for the *Henoticon* (*Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 215-217). According to Blaudeau, it is primarily Peter's acceptance of Chalcedon that raises suspicion (216). However, as M. Whitby has pointed out (*Evagrius*, 152, n. 53) the language in which Peter formulates his adhesion to Chalcedon is actually evasive, leaving place for interpretation. In my opinion, the final part of the letter, in which Peter asks for a new profession of faith, one that would be more satisfactory to the strict anti-Chalcedonians in Egypt, also argues for the authenticity of the letter. It would be difficult to explain this request if the letter originated indeed from Acacius' chancellery. The collection of Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431 was likely composed under Peter's influence as well (see E. Schwartz, *Codex Vat. gr. 1431*, 95-96; see also discussion in P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 372-373).

anathematized the things done at Chalcedon against the right faith, and the impious *Tome* of Leo, know that we too are not unaware of this: but we express blame on the ground that he embraced the communion of those who did not write the same things as he did.[385]

Evidence from Peter's extant texts suggests that, at times, he was not prompt in offering these anathemas, and that, probably on most occasions, he adopted a more subtle attitude in dealing with the strict anti-Chalcedonians. In the address preserved by Zacharias, Peter purportedly affirmed:

> And in my public address I explained **the *Henotikon*,** and showed you how it **nullified the Synod of Chalcedon, by accepting the twelve Heads of the blessed Cyril, and by anathematising Nestorius, and Eutyches, and every other who would assert the duality of the Natures in Christ, and would ascribe the miracles to one and the sufferings to the other, and would divide the persons in properties and in operations.**[386]

Thus, the *Henoticon* contained, according to Peter, an *implicit* anathematization of Chalcedon and of pope Leo's *Tome*. The presence of Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, as well as the rejection of the sentence from the *Tome* that was widely seen as introducing an unsound division in the Incarnation, accounted for this.

In contrast to this, a letter addressed by Peter to Acacius, preserved fragmentarily by Evagrius, presents Peter as having accepted Chalcedon. The basis for this, according to Peter, was the fact that Chalcedon represented nothing more than a ratification of Nicaea:

> So, by ceaselessly guiding everyone, you have united the holy Church of God, **persuading us with strongest proofs that there was nothing transacted contrary to these at the most holy and ecumenical Synod which occurred at Chalcedon,** as **it concurred with, and ratified what had been done by, the holy Fathers of Nicaea**. For, having found nothing new, of our own accord we have joined in assent and have believed.[387]

[385] Severus of Antioch, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus* IV.2, 254. Emphasis mine. See other evidence in P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, 234-235.
[386] *Zacharias* VI, II, 136. Emphasis mine.
[387] *Evagrius* III, 17, 151-2. Emphasis mine.

This was, in other words, the type of acceptance of Chalcedon (for administrative rather than doctrinal reasons) that Acacius had always desired.

The same letter to Acacius, however, shows that Peter's reconciliatory attitude was not well received in Egypt. Peter in fact confessed his inability to control the situation, and asked from Constantinople for a more convincing formula of union, without clearly stating what he expected this formula to contain:

> But I inform your holiness that even now the monks, who are constantly sowing tares, do not rest; they incorporate among themselves as agents certain men who have never lived in monasteries, and go about babbling various rumours against us and against the ecclesiastical peace of Christ; they do not permit us to act canonically and appropriately for the holy and universal Church of God; they prepare the people here to rule us rather than to obey us, and wish to do all that is inappropriate for God. But **we trust that your holiness will inform the most sacred master of the universe of all things, and will make provision that a formula be provided for them from his serenity, one required for the ecclesiastical peace that is appropriate for both God and the emperor, so that all may rest quietly in these things.**[388]

One could speculate that such a proposal need not have been immediately rejected in Constantinople, and that Acacius and Zeno may have eventually been willing to move toward a unitive document that contained a more explicit and vehement rejection of Chalcedon. However, as Rome became aware of what was happening in the Eastern part of the empire, the situation became considerably more complicated.

In the second half of 482, pope Simplicius complained about Acacius' silence[389] with regard to the situation in Constantinople. A statement in Liberatus' *Breviarium* points to the fact that the resentful feelings Rome maintained toward Peter Mongus were (at least in part) justified by the fact that the pope had not been consulted when decisions of high importance had been made ("someone who was condemned by a common sentence as an evildoer ought

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[388] *Evagrius* III, 17, 153. Emphasis mine.
[389] *Coll. Avellana* 68, 151-154, and 69, 154-155.

to have been redeemed by a common decision").[390] Liberatus also suggests that Simplicius would have in fact been willing to accept Peter Mongus if the latter indeed embraced Chalcedon wholeheartedly.[391]

The Roman insistence on becoming involved in the religious affairs of the East[392] did little to move Acacius away from the politics of silence. His lack of interest in such collaboration went so far, according to Liberatus, that he never actually expressed any intention of obtaining an explicit approval of Chalcedon and of pope Leo's *Tome* from Peter.[393]

Papal suspicions regarding the situation in the East became certainty upon the arrival in Rome of the deposed Alexandrian patriarch John Talaia (whom Peter Mongus had replaced in the see of Alexandria), soon after the ordination of pope Felix (March 13, 483). Liberatus affirms that the denigration John Talaia carried out in Rome was strongly encouraged by the Isaurian Illus, who revolted against emperor Zeno, and by the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, Calandion, ordained in 481.[394] According to the same source, the Acoimetae monks, the pillars of Chalcedonianism in the capital, supported John's mission.

The situation deteriorated progressively as Constantinople did not take any steps toward reconciliation. A letter of deposition was sent to Acacius by pope Felix in the summer of 484.[395] This inaugurated the rift between the East and the West known in history as the

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[390] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 129.
[391] *Ibid.*, XVII, 129.
[392] As outlined, for example, in the *Collectio Veronensis*, ed. E. Schwartz, *PS*, 3-58, and *Collectio Berolinensis*, *Ibid.*, 60-117.
[393] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 131.
[394] *Ibid.*, XVII, 126-127.
[395] *Coll. Veronensis* 5, 6-7, E. Schwartz, *PS*, 6-7. See account of the delivery of the letter of deposition in Constantinople in Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 131. See also E. Schwartz, *PS*, 208-209.

Acacian schism, a rift that would last until 518. In response to the letter of deposition sent by Felix, Acacius, in his turn, removed the name of the pope from the diptychs.[396]

As mentioned above, while the amount of historical information regarding ecclesiastical politics after the publication of the *Henoticon* is remarkably large, no theological debates or Christological controversies of significant theological depth are mentioned for Alexandria for the remaining two decades of the fifth century. The focus of attention on Church unity and on the elimination of divisions within Alexandria accounts for this situation to a large extent.

2. The Trisagion Controversy in Antioch: 482-485

In contrast to the paucity of evidence regarding genuine theological debate in Alexandria, a large amount of information has been preserved regarding a Christological controversy that took place in Antioch roughly between the years 482 and 485, and focused on the Trisagion. It appears that the Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians of Antioch retained the conviction – which materialized in fights between the two parties in the sixth and seventh decades of the fifth century, as discussed in the previous chapter – that redefining and reforming the liturgy according to standards of their own Christological model would represent a crucial victory in imposing a certain type of Christology as mainstream. Unlike the controversy of 460-471, however, the controversy of the 480s eventually transgressed the liturgical field, and, for the first time after Chalcedon, brought Theopaschism to the fore of Christological controversy.

[396] This can be deduced from a statement in Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5981, 205. Theophanes mentions that, when Euphemius was ordained patriarch of Constantinople (490), he put the name of pope Felix back in the diptychs.

2.1. Philoxenus of Mabbug and the Theopaschite Trisagion in the 480s

While the patriarch of Antioch, Calandion, apparently embraced Chalcedon without reservation (despite his having been ordained by Acacius of Constantinople), became associated with "lapsed characters" such as the Isaurian conspirator Illus and the deposed patriarch of Alexandria John Talaia, and sought communion with Rome at any price ,[397] an anti-Chalcedonian of Persian origin, Philoxenus, future bishop of Mabbug (485-519), initiated a fierce battle against those who still opposed the singing of the Trisagion with the Theopaschite addition: "Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal, *Who was crucified for us*, have mercy on us."[398]

Historical sources present the Trisagion controversy of the years 481-484 in rather vague terms, insisting more than anything on the idea of power struggles, the main antagonists being Calandion of Antioch and Philoxenus. They contain a number of misrepresentations that range from slightly manipulative (for example, Zacharias implies in the *Syriac Chronicle* that the Chalcedonian patriarch Calandion did not have any following in Antioch)[399] to manifestly incorrect (such as Theophanes' claim that Peter the Fuller's initial addition to the Trisagion had been "Christ King who was crucified for us," an addition he allegedly changed to simply "who was crucified for us" upon his third accession to the see of

[397] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVII, 126-127.

[398] All of Philoxenus' writings from the early 480s relate to this controversy: *Letter to the Monks* (*Dogmatic Letter*) (ed. and tr. A.A. Vaschalde, *Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh (485-519)* (Rome, 1902), 93-105 (text) and 127-45 (translation)); *Letter to the Monks of Teleda* (ed. Ignazio Guidi, *La lettera di Filosseno ai monaci di Tell'addâ (Teleda)*, Atti della Reale accademia dei Lincei: Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche III.12 (Rome, 1886), 446-506); *Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal* (A.A. Vaschalde, *Three Letters*, 105-18 (text) and 146-62 (translation)); *Discourses against Habib* (ed. and tr. F. Graffin and M. Brière, *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e Sancta Trinitate incorporato et passo*, Patrologia Orientalis 15.4; 38.3; 39.4; 40.2; 41.1 (Paris, Turnhout: 1920-1982)).

[399] *Zacharias* V, 9, 125-6.

Antioch in 485).[400] A significant number of anecdotal details surrounding this controversy can be collected from the sources. However, neither historical sources nor Philoxenus' works produced in this context, which are a direct reflection of the controversy, provide sufficient information for a proper and full contextualization of Philoxenus' campaign.[401]

The conclusion one might mistakenly be led to draw based on the accounts contained in historical sources is that Philoxenus' involvement in this Trisagion controversy was driven by a strong (or even blind, in the view of Chalcedonian sources), yet nowhere sufficiently explained desire to eliminate Calandion's "Christ king" (a phrase the patriarch added to the enlarged Trisagion in order to clarify its addressee), and to restore Peter the Fuller's original addition to the doxology. A personal feud with patriarch Calandion of Antioch, whom he eventually defeated by forming alliances with the court of Constantinople and with the monks of the East, is also mentioned.

Certainly, an explanation centered on contemporary ecclesiastical politics and power relations is most tempting, given the complex web of interests and conflicts characteristic of these years, but the situation appears to have been more complex. As we can glean from various historical records, Calandion had "sinned" far beyond the addition of the words "Christ King" to Peter the Fuller's enlarged Trisagion, a fault to which his conflict with the anti-Chalcedonians is commonly ascribed in both primary and secondary sources. Evagrius notes that he anathematized Timothy Aelurus.[402] According to the same source, he

[400] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5982, 206. In claiming this, Theophanes not only points accusingly to the fickleness of the anti-Chalcedonians, but also attempts to change in his narrative the earlier history of the enlarged Trisagion.
[401] Other sources are similarly lacking historical details; see Isaac of Antioch's *Memra on the parrot*. See M. van Esbroeck, "The *Memra on the parrot* by Isaac of Antioch," *Journal of Theological Studies* 47 (1996): 464-476.
[402] *Evagrius* III, 10, 144.

anathematized Basiliscus' *Encyclical*,[403] an imperial decree which, as was seen in the previous chapter, although cancelled about a year after its publication, had brought the anti-Chalcedonians to a satisfactory status quo, and continued to enjoy support among the bishops of the East even after its revocation.[404] Further, Calandion refused to subscribe to Zeno's *Henoticon*,[405] and even took Zeno's name off the diptychs.[406] Worse still, Zacharias tells us that he called Cyril of Alexandria a fool.[407] That Philoxenus would not pursue any of these "sins," but would instead play all his cards on the addition of the words "Christ King" to the Trisagion, and on the importance of upholding the Theopaschite Trisagion without this modification, points to the fact that his target was not Calandion himself, or ecclesiastical power in and of itself. The motivations that drove his campaign were of a different nature. I argue, in what follows, that the battle for the Theopaschite Trisagion in Antioch in 482-484 ought to be seen as driven by the same clash between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians over "owning the liturgy," that determined the course of events in 469-471.

The ten *Discourses against Habib* provide a detailed picture of Philoxenus' use and defense of Theopaschite discourse. The text of the *Discourses* is an elaborate apology for the Christological notion of the "death of God." Philoxenus argues that the strong formulations "God the Word died," "God died," "the Immortal died," "One of the Trinity died" are needed in order to maintain the uniqueness of subject in Christ and to uphold orthodoxy. His adversary Habib had apparently reproached Philoxenus on the grounds that the latter's entire

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403 *Ibid.*, 144.
404 See, for example, *Zacharias* V, 5, 113.
405 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5982, 206.
406 *Coll. Avellana* 95, 392. E. Schwartz, *PS*, 209.
407 *Zacharias* V, 9, 125.

Christology was oversimplistically reduced to the following affirmations: "the Immortal died," "the Impassible suffered," "He Who is became."[408]

Philoxenus often argues against the necessity of dissecting these paradoxical phrases and asking questions such as "how?" Human inquiry and science should be silenced before the mysteries of the Incarnation, Philoxenus repeats again and again. In the third *Discourse*, he affirms: "We do not need a different type of learning than the learning of love, nor a different type of faith outside the faith of the cross, and we pray that we be strengthened in those and reach them and feel their spiritual mysteries."[409]

Philoxenus' adversaries are the "enemies of the Cross,"[410] those who "deny the Cross,"[411] as we can read in the *First Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal*. They speak of the death of God as of that of a man, and write theological treatises in support of their position.[412] Although perhaps not in close collaboration with the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch Calandion, these opponents used to their advantage the differences of opinion between Philoxenus and Calandion, and, more generally, the instability of the times.[413]

Against the "enemies of the Cross," Philoxenus frequently emphasizes the soteriological implications of the refusal to use Theopaschite discourse. If one denies that

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[408] Philoxenus, *Discourse* I, 34, 42. Again at I, 42, 62-3. Such paradoxical formulations were sometimes criticized by modern scholars as well. H. Chadwick, for example, affirms that Cyril reached "a not very illuminating conclusion: the Logos suffered impassibly." ("Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy," 157).
[409] Philoxenus, *Discourse* III, 17, 491.
[410] Philoxenus, *First Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal*, 115.
[411] *Ibid.*, 117.
[412] Philoxenus, *Letter to the Monks of Teleda*, 460-5.
[413] Philoxenus, *Discourse* V, 46, 625. "I know that you have entered a hidden conflict with the whole Church; the confusion of the present times helps you, and you carry out a war against the truth in fighting me." To define with precision the type of Christology promoted by Habib is a highly elusive task. He appears to have been a docetist turned to Dyophysitism. Philoxenus accuses him at times of being a follower of Nestorius; at other times, he accuses him of following Eutyches.

God was crucified, it means that a man was crucified; but the death of a man cannot give life to the world, and a mortal cannot conquer death.[414]

In the *Letter to the Monks of Teleda*, Philoxenus reveals that it was specifically the proclamation of "the death of God" that brought persecution upon him under Calandion.[415] Toward the end of the same letter he reveals that he took upon himself the defense of the Trisagion because the Dyophysites had corrupted the doxology by adding the words "Christ King" before the phrase "who was crucified for us."[416]

The defense of Theopaschite discourse is intertwined in all of Philoxenus' texts from the early 480s with a defense of the Theopaschite Trisagion. In the tenth *Discourse against Habib* he writes:

> Not he who fights to preserve a hymn that is lawfully proclaimed in the Church of God is worthy of scorn, but he who resists it shamelessly, and boldly calls himself a theologian. **For I, O foolish one, have not sent my audience to learn from elsewhere that the Immortal God died, but I had them preserve the Trisagion according to custom, proclaim it as it was transmitted by tradition, and confess it according to the orthodox practice, as they have received it: "Holy Immortal, who was crucified for us."**[417]

As his opponent Habib charged, Philoxenus actually used the Theopaschite Trisagion as one of his main arguments in promoting Theopaschite discourse, failing to bring examples from the Scriptures as proofs. Philoxenus defends this practice, explaining that it was not the lack of scriptural or patristic proof that determined his use of the Trisagion, but the fact that tradition and established practice represent an equally acceptable validation.[418]

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[414] Philoxenus, *Letter to the monks of Teleda*, 461-462.
[415] *Ibid.*, 472.
[416] Philoxenus, *Letter to the monks of Teleda*, 496.
[417] Philoxenus, *Discourse* X, 162, 333. Emphasis mine.
[418] *Ibid.*, 157, 331. That Philoxenus was in fact able to bring patristic proof in support of Theopaschism is demonstrated beyond doubt by the *Florilegium* that accompanies the *Discourses*.

This is a strong statement, and one that is certainly related to the fact that Philoxenus seems not to have felt a need in this period to subject tradition and established practice to historical scrutiny, even in situations when such scrutiny might have helped his cause. Similarly, he did not feel the need to incorporate historical argumentation in his early writings. Philoxenus' writings from the 480s are almost entirely dehistoricized. Even examples of historical precedent, frequent otherwise in contemporary writings, and numerous in Philoxenus' later works, do not make significant appearances in the texts from the 480s. The future bishop of Mabbug does bring up in the tenth *Discourse* the example of Basil of Caesarea, who had, in a manner similar to Philoxenus, used a hymn as support for his doctrinal statements.[419] However, even this type of a-contextual historical reference represents a rare occurrence in the Philoxenian texts from this period.

Only very faint traces of the sort of restraint embraced by Timothy in the promotion of Theopaschite discourse are present in Philoxenus' works from the early 480s, and they appear to be of a rhetorical nature rather than stemming from real concerns with the possibility of his discourse being misinterpreted. One such example comes up in his seventh *Discourse*, where Philoxenus brings in saint Paul's example in order to illustrate the idea that one ought to be careful in introducing the notion of "suffering of God" to the common, uninstructed people:

> But he [Paul] did not preach to them from the beginning this doctrine in its entirety, because he could see that they saw contradiction between the fact that he was born of God and is immortal in his nature, and the fact that he was born from a Virgin and experienced suffering and death. He spoke to them according to their level of understanding and their instruction, and not as the canon of faith required it, as if he had not been able to reveal to them the heart of the mystery.[420]

[419] Philoxenus, *Discourse* X, 158, 331-333.
[420] Philoxenus, *Discourse* VII, 87, 649.

By interpolating the phrase "who was crucified for us" in the Trisagion hymn "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal," the anti-Chalcedonians of Antioch obtained a decisive victory in this series of ongoing fights over the liturgy at the end of the 460s.They had thus gained a position of power rather difficult to challenge. It is most likely for this reason that Philoxenus felt confident about promoting Theopaschite language with great openness and even aggressiveness. It is all the more puzzling therefore that there is no trace in his works from this period of attempts to use to his party's advantage the victory the anti-Chalcedonians of Antioch had won in 469-471 with regard to the Theopaschite Trisagion. This recent past does not come into focus at all in Philoxenus' early works.

However, as the fights over the liturgy between the supporters and opponents of Chalcedon most likely continued, despite the anti-Chalcedonian victory in 469-471, it is in this context that Philoxenus' campaign in the 480s ought to be placed and interpreted. What blurs this connection to the point of being almost indistinguishable is Philoxenus' choice not to make any reference to this quasi-contemporary context. It was probably with the intention of strengthening his position that he chose to omit this, and to play the card of tradition and long-established practice instead. In his own words, he intended to "preserve the Trisagion according to custom, proclaim it as it was transmitted by tradition, and confess it according to the orthodox practice, as they have received it: 'Holy Immortal, who was crucified for us.'"[421]

This type of dismissively non-argumentative attitude goes hand in hand in Philoxenus' texts with the emphasis he places on the necessity of eluding human inquiry in order to allow the spirit to be profoundly infused with the mystery of the Incarnation. A good example of this can be found in the eighth *Discourse*:

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[421] Philoxenus, *Discourse* X, 162, 333.

> For us, indeed, it is enough to confess, alongside the simple and the innocent, that the Word of God dwelled in the Virgin, took from her a body, became incarnate, was born, was crucified, died for us, was resurrected on the third day and gave us new life. **For this mystery and its exact explanation have their own logic. There is no blame in simply accepting the mysteries of the faith.**[422]

This results in a type of Christological discourse that often puts on a paradoxical character,[423] one that shocks and, thereby, Philoxenus argues, uplifts one's faith:

> For which person of strong faith, upon having heard that God is born, that God suffered and died for us, is not immediately filled with wonderment and admiration and does not see his faith grow in his thoughts upon remembering these divine mysteries. **Indeed, confessing that God became man, was born of the Virgin, was crucified and died for us is not only a reality, but it is also an expression used to raise admiration and to strengthen the faith.**[424]

Within this framework of argumentation, Philoxenus rejects his adversary's typological understanding of the Eucharist, where the bread is interpreted as a symbol and an element of commemoration. To Philoxenus, the words "This is my body" are beyond human interpretation and understanding; the paradox they contain is inexplicable, and, at the same time, essential to maintaining their soteriological power.[425]

2.2. The *Theotokos* – an argumentative parallel to the Trisagion in Philoxenus

The Trisagion is in fact not the only subject in relation to which Philoxenus chose to emphasize a forged notion of long-standing tradition over a relatively recent anti-Chalcedonian victory. We know that the concept of *Theotokos* was, from a doctrinal point of view, a more or less settled matter since the Council of Ephesus in 431. However, its liturgical use was by no means settled, as was discussed in the previous chapter. According

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[422] Philoxenus, *Discourse* VIII, 175, 750-751. Emphasis mine.
[423] In the tenth *Discourse* (163, 333-335), Philoxenus explains: "For nobody can explain how the Immortel died. The mere fact of affirming that "The Immortal died" shows that (this) death is inexplicable."
[424] Philoxenus, *Discourse* IX, 83, 237. Emphasis mine.
[425] Philoxenus, *Discourse* X, 66, 291.

to Zacharias, it took an imperial order for patriarch Gennadius of Constantinople to become willing to place the appellative *Theotokos* in the diptychs in or around 470, and it is not unlikely that one of the heads of accusation in Martyrius of Antioch's condemnation was a similar reluctance regarding the *Theotokos*.[426]

As in the case of the Theopaschite Trisagion, however, Philoxenus, although certainly aware of the existence of these recent conflicts regarding the place of the *Theotokos* in the liturgy, avoids mentioning them, and presents their outcome as the only element with relevance for the present situation. In a passage from the tenth *Discourse against Habib*, Philoxenus writes that the whole Church proclaims the *Theotokos* at the altar at the time of the Eucharist, most likely referring to the reading of the diptychs discussed above.[427]

> **It is written and read in all the churches, and is proclaimed on the altar, at the time of the offering of the holy mysteries, that the Virgin is Mother of God.** Starting from his birth from the Virgin, it is clear to everyone, and even the enemies cannot deny it, that God died.[428]

He deals with the presence of the *Theotokos* on the diptychs in exactly the same manner as he does with the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion: he presents it as a firm, well-established tradition that is beyond history and beyond human inquiry. He uses this stand to fight his Chalcedonian adversaries, one of whom, Habib, had gravely blasphemed against the *Theotokos* in the manner of Nestorius, according to Philoxenus' testimony in the first *Discourse*: "And you said elsewhere: In the same way in which God did not die, he was also not born of a Virgin; this is why we should not call the Virgin *Theotokos*, but *Christotokos*."[429]

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[426] See Chapter 2.
[427] See *supra*, 84-86.
[428] Philoxenus, *Discourse* X, 162, 333. Emphasis mine.
[429] Philoxenus, *Discourse* I, 35, 47. See also *Discourse* IX, 82, 237: Philoxenus explains there that, if one calls Mary mother of Christ, one could also call her mother of the newborn, mother of the Son of David, etc, because

As his career advanced, Philoxenus would begin to integrate elements of history in his argumentation more and more,[430] but this early phase of his involvement in Christological controversies lacks the historical dimension almost entirely. Clearly, the notion of established tradition was the explanation of choice for those involved in Christological controversies at this time. Beyond this, it is ultimately difficult to understand why Philoxenus chose not to employ a recent anti-Chalcedonian victory, namely Peter's the Fuller's success in having the Theopaschite Trisagion sanctioned in Antioch in 469-471, as an element of legitimization in his own defense of the Trisagion. Severus would later abandon Philoxenus' strategy and acknowledge without reserve that, while orthodox and necessary in order to preserve orthodoxy, the addition "who was crucified for us" was nevertheless relatively recent.[431]

2.3. The Dyophysites and the Trisagion controversy in the 480s

The lack of references to contemporary events and to the historical context in which the controversy of the 480s unfolded also makes it rather difficult to reconstruct with precision the part the Dyophysites played in the events of these years. Historical sources highlight exclusively patriarch Calandion's insertion of the words "Christ King" into the interpolated Trisagion. However, neither Philoxenus' *Dogmatic Letter*, nor the ten *Discourses against Habib* make any reference to this incident. Philoxenus mentions the addition "Christ King" in

Christ was referred to by these names as well; since these appellations are not accepted, one should also not call Mary mother of Christ.

[430] In the *Letter to the monks of Senun*, probably written in 521, Philoxenus presents and interprets various episodes in recent ecclesiastical and doctrinal history; in contrast to his argumentation at the time of the Trisagion controversy in the 480s, a significant part of his argumentation in this text draws on historical precedent. References to historical precedents from the time of the Arian controversy are frequently encountered in Philoxenus' exile correspondence.

[431] Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 125, 247-9. This is rather surprising, given Severus' otherwise strong defense of the notions of tradition and apostolicity. See on this subject R.A. Darling, *The Patriarchate of Severus of Antioch, 512-518* (Ph.D. dissertation, 1982, University of Chicago; retrieved 07/03/2008; accessed at Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database (Publication No ATT T-28325)).

the *Letter to the Monks of Teleda*, chronologically posterior to the two works just mentioned, and in the first *Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal*, written at the end of the Trisagion controvery.

The rejection of the "Christ King" solution in Philoxenus' *Letter to the Monks of Teleda* and in the first *Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal* is a firm one, and it is certain that, had it already existed at the time the *Dogmatic Letter* or the *Discourses* were written, Philoxenus would not have hesitated to tackle this issue right away. It is therefore possible that, initially, there existed certain attempts by Dyophysites simply to have the Trisagion returned to its non-interpolated form. The anti-Chalcedonian reaction to this, as Philoxenus' *Discourses* demonstrate, was a strong one. It was perhaps in this context that patriarch Calandion suggested a milder modification as a compromise solution, namely the insertion of the words "Christ King" before the Theopaschite addition.

While the lack of contextualization diminished to some extent the force and pertinence of his arguments, rendering them somewhat less compelling and more arbitrary, other circumstances compensated for this lack, and fashioned a framework of legitimacy for the fierceness with which Philoxenus promoted Theopaschite discourse. For example, since Zeno's *Henoticon* had validated Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, Philoxenus' insistence on Theopaschite discourse, which can be envisaged as a Christological corollary of Cyril's Twelfth Anathema, appeared perhaps less outlandish. Moreover, from a political perspective, he promoted his cause properly by attaching it to the fate of the victors (Zeno and Acacius); and, to be sure, patriarch Calandion's self-dooming rejection of the *Henoticon* and the

Dyophysites' alleged association with the conspirators Illus and Leontius helped the future bishop of Mabbug.[432] Similarly, his audience was particularly well chosen.

2.4. The controversy over the Trisagion and the monastic milieu

Philoxenus' audience in the early 480s was almost exclusively monastic. From his own testimony, it appears that he travelled constantly; in the first *Discourse* he reproaches to his adversary Habib: "You remained in a monastery; and I aimlessly roamed from city to city, and spent my time in dissolute conversations and in unbecoming affairs."[433] It is quite likely that, in his travels, he visited numerous monasteries as well.

Beyond the opportunities for direct contact, he tried to enlist the support of various monastic communities by writings letters. He also tried to warn the monks he addressed against possible attacks by Chalcedonians. In the *Letter to the monks of Teleda*, for example, he instructed the monks on how to respond to specific objections the adversaries were raising against the affirmation of the "death of God," such as "who governed the world during the three days when God was in the tomb?," "if the angels cannot die, how can one say that God died?," "how is it possible that he be mortal and immortal at the same time?"[434] We do not have sufficient evidence to confirm the actual historicity, and then the evolution of this type of arguments against Theopaschism. An interesting independent confirmation for their existence, however, comes up in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. According to the historian,

> When Alamoundaros, phylarch of the Saracens, had been baptized, the impious Severos sent two bishops to win him over to his leprous heresy; but, by the providence of God, the man had been baptized by the orthodox who accepted the synod. When Severus' bishops attempted to pervert the phylarch from the true teaching, Alamoundaros refuted them wonderfully with the following theatrical act.

[432] *Evagrius* III, 16, 150.
[433] Philoxenus, *Discourse* I , 22, 23.
[434] Philoxenus, *Letter to the monks of Teleda*, 472, 486.

> For he said to them. "I received a letter today telling me that the archangel Michael was dead." When they replied that this was impossible, the phylarch continued , **"How is it then according to you that God alone was crucified, unless Christ was of two natures, if even an angel cannot die?"** And so Severos' bishops departed in ignominy.[435]

Further, Philoxenus encouraged the monks to profess publicly the orthodox faith, defying all dangers and not fearing persecutions.[436] It was perhaps not the most prudent move and one likely to get out of control if even slightly mismanaged. We have seen in the first part of this chapter how Peter Mongus describes (in a letter addressed to Acacius of Constantinople) the disastrous consequences of a mismanaged relationship with the monasteries in Egypt.[437] That the monastic communities around Antioch could have easily evolved in the same direction is unquestionable.

Philoxenus however seems to have had a valid intuition regarding the reception of Theopaschite discourse among the monks he addressed. He knew that, picturing themselves as the true followers of Christ and sharers in Christ's Passion, the monks would be the most likely to rise against the "enemies of the Cross," and to further popularize his views among the common believers.[438] Philoxenus seems to have aptly used the popularity Theopaschite discourse enjoyed among anti-Chalcedonian monks to secure the place of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the liturgy.

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[435] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6005, 240-241. Theophanes places this anecdote under the year 512-3. Victor of Tunnuna reports a similar episode under the year 512, albeit in less detail: "Alamundarus Sarracenorum rex a defensoribus sinodi Calcidonensis babtizatus Theopascitas episcopos a Seuero Antiocheno episcopo ad se cum litteris missos barbara mirabiliter propositione concludens atque superans Deum immortalem ostendit." (*Chronicon* 93, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 173A, ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 3-55, here 30).
[436] Philoxenus, *Dogmatic Letter*, 128-9.
[437] *Evagrius* III, 17, 153: "But I inform your holiness that even now the monks, who are constantly sowing tares, do not rest; they incorporate among themselves as agents certain men who have never lived in monasteries, and go about babbling various rumours against us and against the ecclesiastical peace of Christ; they do not permit us to act canonically and appropriately for the holy and universal Church of God; they prepare the people here to rule us rather than to obey us, and wish to do all that is inappropriate for God."
[438] See C.B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine*, 332-395, for a discussion of the importance of the symbol of the Cross, and of the issue of passibility vs. impassibility in the Incarnation among monastics.

2.5. Theopaschism and Christological controversy

Philoxenus' victory over Calandion certainly consolidated the place of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the Antiochian liturgy. But the Theopaschite Trisagion was probably not threatened as seriously as Philoxenus' campaign seems to indicate. The fact that Calandion of Antioch did not dare to remove the addition "who was crucified for us" from the Trisagion, but merely tried to soften it for the sake of Chalcedonian ears by inserting the words "Christ King" before it, is a testament to the great popularity and consolidated position that the Theopaschite Trisagion was probably already enjoying in Antioch in these years. Philoxenus' more significant accomplishment in the defense of Theopaschism seems to lie elsewhere.

A major development in the use and defense of Theopaschite discourse occurred in Philoxenus' texts from this period, one that was then more and more steadfastly pursued over the following four decades, and by more and more groups. Philoxenus took Theopaschism outside the limited sphere of conflicts over the liturgy and orthopraxis, and, for the first time after the Council of Chalcedon, brought it out in the open in the sphere of doctrinal controversies. What is more, Philoxenus boldly incorporated Theopaschite discourse in anathemas he formulated against his opponents.

Thus, in the *Dogmatic Letter*, we can read the following: "Anathema upon Nestorius and Eutyches, and their doctrines and their disciples; upon everyone who agrees with them; upon everyone who does not anathematize them with mouth and heart, and **does not confess that Christ, God the Word, one of the Trinity, was crucified for us**."[439]

[439] Philoxenus, *Dogmatic Letter*, 104. Emphasis mine.

This is a very interesting passage, and probably one of the very first attestations of the phrase "One of the Trinity was crucified" used as a battle-cry,[440] outside of the liturgical context of the Theopaschite Trisagion. The phrase was – here and henceforth – detached from its original liturgical context and was brought more and more often, more and more widely, and with progressively growing emphasis into the doctrinal canon. In the *Discourses*, Philoxenus comes back to "one of the Trinity" again and again. Moreover, the long defenses of Theopaschism included in the *Discourses* formed the perfect transition toward the inclusion of such phrases in anathemas.

The *First Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal* is rich in evidence of this kind. A series of anathema-like pronouncements on those who reject Theopaschism is incorporated in this letter; for example: "He who is scandalized at the mention of death, does not believe that the Son of God is God;"[441] or "He who does not hold for certain that He Who was crucified was one of the Trinity, has not received the freedom and joy of baptism, and has not as yet been redeemed from the sentence of death and from the original curse;"[442] and again "The disciple who does not confess that the Impassible One suffered, and the Immortal One died for us, is a heathen, not a disciple."[443] From here on, the presence of Theopaschite discourse in doctrinal controversies started to become more and more widespread, and Theopaschism eventually ceased to be a feature of anti-Chalcedonian Christology alone.

An interesting, if puzzling, piece of evidence regarding the presence of Theopaschite content in anathemas comes up in the following passage from Philoxenus' fourth *Discourse*:

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[440] With the following *caveat*: as this anathema features in only one of the three manuscripts in which the *Dogmatic Letter* is preserved, there is a certain amount of doubt regarding its authenticity (see A.A. Vaschalde, *Three Letters*, fn.2, 104; B and C omit it).
[441] Philoxenus, *First Letter to the Monks of Bēth-Gaugal*, 110.
[442] *Ibid.*, 110.
[443] *Ibid.*, 111.

> This expression, "one of the Trinity," I have shown above to be correct, and to be the confession of the Church and the tradition of our Fathers. [I have shown this] through the testimony of the Apostle and through common faith, and **even through the testimony of Nestorians, who confessed and even wrote that he who was crucified is one of the Trinity.** And if they do not hold this to be true, and if they create controversy about this expression, they have accused themselves and they have anathematized themselves in their own writings. For they have thus professed and written: "If someone does not say that one of the Trinity was crucified, let him be anathema." And they themselves appear to not say it. Therefore they anathematized themselves, and not someone else.[444]

Certainly, to think that actual Nestorians had pronounced an anathema against those who do not confess that "One of the Trinity was crucified" would go against all evidence. In light of Philoxenus' frequent treatment of Chalcedonians as "Nestorians," one could hypothesize that the anathema he refers to here belonged in fact to a group of Chalcedonians with views of a more flexible nature, a group that would become more coherent in the last years of the fifth century, and particularly in the first two decades of the sixth century, the neo-Chalcedonians. If this is indeed the group that Philoxenus has in mind in writing the above passage, this would represent the earliest instance of firm neo-Chalcedonian support for Theopaschism.

With Peter the Fuller's return to the see of Antioch in 485, not only did the Theopaschite Trisagion undoubtedly retain its place in the Antiochian liturgy, but it is also to be assumed that the general promotion of Theopaschite discourse outside the liturgy continued.

A total lack of references to any conflict on this matter leads us to believe that the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion remained quasi-undisputed even during the office of patriarchs Palladius (488-498) and Flavian (498-512), both supporters of Chalcedon.

[444] Philoxenus, *Dissertatio* IV, 20, 554-555. Emphasis mine.

The use of Theopaschite doctrinal formulations outside the liturgy also became more prominent – and perhaps even prevalent – in Antioch, especially in the first two decades of the sixth century, reaching outside of anti-Chalcedonian circles as well. In an effort to defend himself and avoid deposition, Flavian of Antioch had to counter dire attacks by anti-Chalcedonians led by Philoxenus of Mabbug between 508 and 512.[445]

Accused of being a Nestorian, Flavian, who had accepted the *Henoticon* while refusing to condemn Chalcedon, progressively embraced a doctrinal position that eventually included approval for the one-nature formula (but only alongside the two-natures formula) and for Cyril of Alexandria's *Twelve Anathemas*, and an unreserved acceptance of the term *Theotokos*. What is more important for the present discussion, Flavian most likely agreed to confess that Christ was One of the Trinity, who was crucified for us.[446]

Already dislocated from the liturgy and used in the realm of doctrinal controversy by anti-Chalcedonians in the last two decades of the fifth century, as Philoxenus' example analyzed above has taught us, the Theopaschite phrase was thenceforth adopted as an element with potential for compromise by Chalcedonians who were willing to amend their position and accommodate the anti-Chalcedonians for the sake of unity in the Church. While the compromises they were willing to make were numerous, going so far as to profess that Chalcedon was to be upheld not for its doctrinal statement, but simply for having anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches, they were ultimately unwilling to formally condemn the Council of 451 and pope Leo's *Tome*. Because of this, their appropriation of fundamental elements of anti-Chalcedonian discourse, including the "One of the Trinity, who

[445] See account in the letter sent by the monks of Palestine to the Chalcedonian bishop Alcison of Nicopolis, *Evagrius* III, 31, 168-172; see also *Evagrius* III, 32, 174-175.
[446] This can be deduced from Philoxenus' *Letter to the monks of Palestine*, 40-42.

was crucified for us" formula, was heavily criticized as hypocritical by Philoxenus, Severus, and their party.

2.6. Other positions on Theopaschism in Antioch

The popularity Theopaschism acquired in this period is also attested to by several references in John Rufus' *Plerophories*. This text was written during Severus of Antioch's patriarchate (512-518),[447] the glory years of anti-Chalcedonianism. John Rufus was probably a native of Arabia.[448] He was ordained to the priesthood during the reign of Basiliscus (before August 476)[449] and lived in Antioch for a period of time.[450] Upon the ordination of the Chalcedonian patriarch Calandion he took refuge in Palestine.[451] John Rufus manifests a marked fondness for Theopaschite discourse. It is probable that vigorous promoters of Theopaschite language such as Peter the Fuller and Philoxenus of Mabbug had an influence on him.

In the *Plerophories* John Rufus reconstructed various episodes of previous doctrinal debates as having been centered on Theopaschism. He accused emperor Marcian and the Council of Chalcedon of denying the death of God. Abba Elladios prophesied: "There will be an impious emperor named Marcian who will convince the bishops to say that he who was crucified was not God."[452] Denying the death of God is also the main fault of the Nestorians:

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[447] J.-E. Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture*, 77-78.
[448] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 22, 50; C.B. Horn and R.R. Phenix, *John Rufus: The* Lives *of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*, Introduction, lxii.
[449] C.B. Horn and R.R. Phenix, *John Rufus: The* Lives *of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*, Introduction, lxii.
[450] He was still present in Antioch at the time of Calandion's ordination in 481 (*Ibid.*, 112, 167).
[451] [451] C.B. Horn and R.R. Phenix, *John Rufus: The* Lives *of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*,112, 167. John Rufus, *Plerophories* 22, 48. J.-E. Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture*, 58-60.
[452] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 7, 19.

"the Nestorians are sick with the disease of the Jews, since they say that he who was crucified is simply a man, and not the incarnate God."[453]

Theopaschite phrases appear sometimes in visions as tests of orthodoxy.[454] At times John Rufus places Theopaschism at the heart of his discourse by using contrasting images, in the style of the paradoxes dear to Ephrem the Syrian, and, closer to John Rufus' period, to Philoxenus of Mabbug in the early stage of his career. John reports that one holy man had addressed emperor Marcian in this manner:

> I was close to Christ and was going everywhere with him when he was performing miracles, was healing and teaching, when he was injured and persecuted, when he was arrested, lashed, crucified and crushed with pain; when he was buried, resurrected, when he ascended to heaven and sat at the right hand of the Father. I was with him everywhere. **And the same one whom I saw teach, heal and resurrect the dead, I also saw tired, crying, hungry, thirsty, and enduring all the other sufferings. I never saw two in him, one and another, but I always saw the same one accomplishing these different actions, suffering and being glorified. The Word of God incarnate is one nature.**[455]

Although with less polemical emphasis than Philoxenus of Mabbug, Severus of Antioch also made substantial use of Theopaschite discourse. The defense of the "one nature" formula is often formulated in Theopaschite language, and, like Philoxenus, Severus

[453] *Ibid.*, 14, 30.
[454] *Ibid.*, 37, 86-7: "In a vision, he saw, as he related, the holy Apostle Peter who took him and led him to an elevated place, sat him by his side like a child and showed him a large, unattainable and incomprehensible source of light in the sky, which had the shape of a wheel, like the sun, and said to him: "This is the Father;" then a second light which followed the first and resembled it in everything, and in the middle of this light was our Lord, represented with the traits of the Nazarene, and he added: "This is the Son;" and then there was a third light, in everything like the other two, and saint Peter said to him: "This is the Holy Spirit; one essence, one nature, one glory, one power, one light, one divinity in three hypostases;" **but, while all three were unattainable, only the one in the middle was represented as a Nazarene, to show that the one who was crucified is one of the Trinity, and not somebody else**; far be it from us! But the other two are an inaccessible, unimaginable, unattainable and incomprehensible light." Emphasis mine. Another example comes up in *Plerophories* 81, 137: an orthodox woman from Pamphilia came before the throne of God at the time of her death, and she was received with joy upon having confessed that the Son of God was born of the Holy Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, and that the Son of God was crucified and suffered for us.
[455] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 61, 119. Emphasis mine.

frequently employs the paradoxical side of Theopaschite language in discussing the Incarnation.[456]

3. Beyond Antioch

3.1. Theopaschism in Jerusalem

The last two decades of the fifth century and the first two decades of the sixth century witnessed a complex series of developments relating to the diffusion of the use of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the Eastern part of the empire. From a testimony of Severus of Antioch in his *Cathedral Homily* 125 (518) we learn that the Theopaschite Trisagion was not part of the liturgy in Egypt, but that this was accounted for by the simple fact that the Trisagion itself was not used in the liturgy in that region.[457] Otherwise, according to the same text from Severus, the Theopaschite Trisagion was becoming commonly used in all the churches throughout the Eastern Empire.[458]

However, this process was not without obstacles, as Severus himself confesses, and other sources confirm. In Jerusalem, for example, the acceptance of the Theopaschite

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[456] The *Letter to Eupraxius the Chamberlain*, dated with approximation to 508-511 is representative in this sense (*A Collection of Letters From Numerous Syriac Manuscripts*, ed. and tr. E.W. Brooks, Patrologia Orientalis 12 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1915), LXV, 177-239). See also Severus of Antioch, *A Collection of Letters* XXII, 43-44. A Coptic fragment of a letter by Severus also defends the "one of the Trinity" (W.E.Crum, "Sévère d'Antioche en Egypte," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23 (1922/23): 92-104, here 100). In a letter addressed to priests in Alexandria Severus reproduces the sentence from the *Henoticon*, "for the Trinity remained a Trinity even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate" (Severus, *A Collection of Letters*, XXXIX, 128). Various other works of Severus (*Ad Nephalium, Philalethes, Against John the Grammarian*) take up both the rejection of accusations of Theopaschism formulated against him, and the defense of the Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity suffered;" see summary of evidence in P. Allen and C.T.R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[457] Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 125, 249. Unfortunately, too little evidence is preserved to allow for a more extensive study of the use of the Trisagion, and, in particular, the Theopaschite Trisagion, in Egypt at this time. Later attestations include not only liturgical evidence, but also epigraphic evidence that point to a widespread use of the Theopaschite Trisagion as an element of lay piety. See S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 516-518.

[458] Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 125, 249: "it reached even the churches of Asia, and it is now finding its way in all the churches."

Trisagion was not unproblematic. Severus hints at this in the same *Cathedral Homily* 125,[459] and explains the situation in more detail in his *Cathedral Homily* 124:

> Where are those who live in the earthly Jerusalem? – They have fallen off the rock and have moved away from the holy faith; and they launch empty anathemas against those who hold an orthodox position; and they read the book of the abominable Theodoret, whom saint Cyril has called the ultimate imitator of Nestorius' impiety, and **they have cut off and suppressed from the doxology of the Trisagion the addition "who was crucified for us,"** and they have shown why they have placed the infamous and impure Council of Chalcedon among the holy books.[460]

John Rufus' *Plerophories*, written, as already mentioned, during Severus of Antioch's patriarchate, contain numerous references to the situation in Jerusalem in the immediate aftermath of Chalcedon. John infuses his stories with bitter discontent regarding Juvenal of Jerusalem's abandonment of the right faith in 451. Although no explicit detail in these stories suggests this, it is very possible that they in fact reveal John's more directly personal discontent with the contemporary situation in Jerusalem at the time when he was writing the *Plerophories*. With some probability, the contemporary rejection of the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion in Jerusalem at this time also informed his feelings.

The twentieth Plerophory is particularly interesting in the context of this discussion. John recounts how, before leaving for the council, Juvenal visited the venerable Paul, a priest and an ascetic from the village of Ganta near Jerusalem. Tellingly, Juvenal is said to have pronounced the following words on this occasion:

> "This is why I have decided to visit your dwelling: I expect never to see you again. We are going to war, and, lest we be willing to trample under foot our faith in God, we will be taking the road of exile; **they are asking us to despise and deny the faith of our Fathers and to believe, in the manner of Simon Magus and of the Jews, that Christ who suffered for us is not God.**"[461]

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[459] *Ibid.*, 249-250.
[460] Severus of Antioch, *Homily* 124, 227. Emphasis mine.
[461] John Rufus, *Plerophories* 20, 42.

Thus, according to John Rufus' argument, Juvenal pledged to defend the truth of the "death of God" at Chalcedon, and he failed. By placing the Theopaschite phrase at the heart of the issues that were at stake at Chalcedon, John Rufus brings into the narration of these events the focus of interest of his own times. Juvenal deplorably failed to defend the "death of God" at Chalcedon; the rejection of the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion in Jerusalem in the second decade of the sixth century – the author's more critical concern – was a similarly regrettable failure.

Very few details have been preserved for reconstructing the history of the fights over the Trisagion in Jerusalem in this period. From the passage quoted above from Severus' *Cathedral Homily* 124 one can conclude that, at some point in the recent past, the enlarged Trisagion had represented the norm in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, information preserved in other sources reveals a significantly more complex situation.

For the duration of Martyrius of Jerusalem's patriarchate (478-486), a conciliatory attitude characterized the presence of Jerusalem on the stage of ecclesiastical politics. The *Henoticon* had been unproblematically received by the patriarch, who, on the basis of this unitive document, also embraced communion with Peter Mongus of Alexandria and Peter the Fuller of Antioch.[462] Although no information is preserved to this effect, one can conjecture that a potential promotion of the Theopaschite Trisagion would not have been opposed with any particular sternness at this time.

Not much is known about how the situation in Jerusalem evolved under Martyrius' immediate successor, Sallustius (486-494). More information is preserved about the fate of the Theopaschite Trisagion during the patriarchate of Elias (494-516).

[462] *Evagrius* III, 16, 150.

Elias, in all probability a rather strong supporter of Chalcedon at the beginning of his career, adopted a more flexible attitude in the second half of his patriarchate (ca. 508-516). According to Theophanes, Elias replied boldly to a letter sent by the emperor Anastasius in 508/9 asking him to anathematize Chalcedon.[463] He refused to anathematize the Council, and formulated instead anathemas against Nestorius, Eutyches, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. As all of them were at this time quasi-unanimously seen as unquestionable "villains," the anathemas against them were rather meaningless.

A letter addressed by a group of Palestinian monks to Alcison of Nicopolis around 515-516[464] contains a more thought-provoking narrative of this episode. According to this letter, Elias' initial reply was forged by messengers who were "followers of Dioscorus." The forgery condemned all supporters of the two-natures formula. Becoming aware of the forgery, Elias presumably sent a new reply, containing no such anathema.[465]

Although not impossible to imagine, it is nevertheless difficult to believe that Elias would have chosen to send an official profession of faith to the emperor through people who turned out to be followers of Dioscorus. Moreover, Cyril of Scythopolis, himself a writer with little sympathy for the anti-Chalcedonians, probably would not have hesitated to mention such an incident. The fact that he doesn't makes its actual occurrence more doubtful. Furthermore, in light of Theophanes' account of Elias' position in 511, when he allegedly wrote to emperor Anastasius that he rejected Chalcedon,[466] Elias' sternness in supporting Chalcedon in 508/9 appears even more questionable, and the issue of the forgery even less

[463] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6001, 231. *Evagrius* reports that a document was composed – which M. Whitby identifies with Severus' *Typos* (composed in 510), and that it was this document that was sent to Elias of Jerusalem for approval. (*Evagrius* III, 31, 170-1; see also footnote 106, 170-1).
[464] Fragments of this letter are preserved in Evagrius' *Ecclesiastical History*. The letter is dated to 515-516 (the end of Anastasius' reign) by M. Whitby; see *Evagrius*, footnote 97, 168.
[465] *Evagrius* III, 31, 171.
[466] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6003, 234.

believable. It is more likely that, in the context of emperor Anastasius' generally favorable response to anti-Chalcedonian initiatives, particularly after 508, Elias upheld Chalcedon with a significant dose of flexibility. By all accounts, this flexibility bears resemblance to the neo-Chalcedonian position that was being shaped in this period.

Similarly, the firm opposition to the Theopaschite Trisagion that Cyril of Scythopolis attributes to the Palestinian monastic leader saint Sabas is questionable, as it matches rather poorly the context of these years. In his *Life of St. Sabas*, Cyril of Scythopolis retells an episode that is said to have occurred in 501. Saint Sabas, Cyril narrates, had allowed a group of Armenians to join his monastic community. They were apparently performing the office separately, in their own language, and were joining the rest of the monks at the time of the Eucharist. According to Cyril, they took advantage of the freedom that was allowed to them and were singing the Trisagion with the Theopaschite addition.

> But when some of them tried to recite the Trisagion hymn with the addition "who was crucified for us" concocted by Peter nicknamed the Fuller, the godly man was rightly indignant and ordered them to chant this hymn in Greek according to the ancient tradition of the catholic Church and not according to the innovation of the said Peter, who had shared the opinions of Eutyches.[467]

The implication behind Cyril of Scythopolis' narration is clear: it was foreigners, Armenians in this case, not local Palestinian monks who were promoting the Theopaschite "error" and altering the liturgy with their heresy. Cyril probably attempted to sidestep in this way the historical reality of the existence of support for the Theopaschite Trisagion in Palestine at the end of the fifth century.

That there existed in fact a local monastic community in Palestine that professed the formula "One of the Trinity suffered/was crucified," and, most likely, sang the Trisagion with the analogous Theopaschite addition, can be inferred from one of Philoxenus of

[467] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas*, 117,20-118,10, 126-127.

Mabbug's letters. Composed soon after 508/9, as A. De Halleux has convincingly established, and addressed to a community of monks in Palestine, the letter in question deplores the misappropriation of the Theopaschite formula "One of the Trinity was crucified" and of the term *Theotokos* by Chalcedonians. What underlies the tone with which Philoxenus addresses the monks of Palestine in this letter is a conviction that his and their beliefs coincide. The bishop of Mabbug calls the Palestinian monks "spiritual fathers," and refers to the common faith that unites him to them.[468] It is beyond doubt that these monks did not oppose Theopaschism in the form of non-liturgical doctrinal formulations. It is also very likely that they furthermore used the liturgical Trisagion with the Theopaschite addition.

The rejection of the Theopaschite addition in Palestine, mentioned in Severus' *Cathedral Homily* 124 probably coincided with the ordination of John III (516-524) to the see of Jerusalem. It appears, however, that the excision of the Theopaschite addition from the liturgical Trisagion was not accompanied by a more general rejection of Theopaschism in the doctrinal line pursued by the patriarchate of Jerusalem. After the death of emperor Anastasius and the restoration of Chalcedon in 518, it was suggested from Jerusalem that the Theopaschite formula "One of the Trinity suffered" be included in the canon of orthodoxy as a basis for reconciliation in the Church, purportedly meant to replace adhesion to the significantly more rigid *Libellus* provided by pope Hormisdas for the same purpose.[469]

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[468] Philoxenus, *Letter to the Monks of Palestine*, 44. Under Philoxenus' influence, emperor Anastasius convened a *synodos endemousa*, in 499, according to Victor of Tunnuna (the dating is corrected by Grillmeier to 507 (see *CCT* II, 1, 270-1). The synod, Victor of Tunnuna reports, issued a condemnation of those who refused to confess the Theopaschite formula (*Chronicon* 81, 25). It was perhaps in this context that the Chalcedonians began to adjust their position and introduce the Theopaschite formula in the canon of orthodoxy. Philoxenus reacted to this development in the *Letter to the Monks of Palestine*.

[469] Philoxenus, *Letter to the Monks of Senun*, 15-25, 60. The bishop of Jerusalem "accepts the Council and the *Tome*, just as those who came from Rome, while at the same time deceitfully confessing and saying with hypocrisy that Mary is Mother of God and that he who was crucified for us is one of the Trinity."

3.2. Theopaschism in Constantinople

The situation in Constantinople was similarly complex, and further complicated by the clash of various political interests and loyalties, as well as by the frequent visits of delegations representing different doctrinal orientations, and, in particular, of famous contemporary characters, such as Philoxenus of Mabbug (in 507), Severus of Antioch (between 508 and 511), and saint Sabas (511-512). Theopaschism raised interest and dispute on at least two occasions, both times on account of the Theopaschite addition to the liturgical Trisagion.

The years 508-512 saw an increase in emperor Anastasius' opposition to Chalcedon. His earlier reportedly liberal attitude in the matter of acceptance or rejection of Chalcedon[470] changed significantly, and his support of the anti-Chalcedonian cause, going at this time visibly beyond the limits established by the *Henoticon*, became more evident. It is precisely in this period that Theopaschite discourse became a subject of wide interest and ample controversy in Constantinople.

3.2.1. The fights over the theopaschite Trisagion in Constantinople (511-512)

Historical sources report a strengthening of emperor Anastasius' opposition to Macedonius, the patriarch of Constantinople, a strict Chalcedonian against whom heavy accusations were

[470] See *Evagrius* III, 30, 166-7: Anastasius had "exercised every means so that the most holy churches should remain undisturbed, and every subject enjoy profound tranquility, with all strife and contention being removed from ecclesiastical and political affairs. And so during this period, whereas the Synod of Chalcedon was neither openly proclaimed in the most holy churches, nor indeed universally repudiated, each of the prelates conducted himself according to his belief. And some adhered very resolutely to what had been issued at it, and made no concession with regard to any syllable of what had been defined by it, and did not even indeed admit a change of letter; [...] Others, on the other hand, not only refused to accept the Synod at Chalcedon and what had been defined by it, but even encompassed it and the *Tome* of Leo with anathema."

formulated during those years, including that of having forged scripture in a Nestorian sense,[471] and even of celebrating the memory of Nestorius.[472]

Events in the first half of 511 quickly accelerated Macedonius' downfall. Just like Flavian of Antioch and Elias of Jerusalem, Macedonius was compelled to make certain concessions to the emperor's now better defined religious politics, and, ultimately, to the anti-Chalcedonians. There seems to be a consensus in the sources that Macedonius was progressively cornered, and fell into various traps that ultimately compromised him beyond redemption.[473] Theophanes and the *Letter of the monks of Palestine to Alcison of Nicopolis* (cited by Evagrius) record that the patriarch signed a document forwarded to him by the emperor, in which he presumably recognized only the first two councils, leaving out Ephesus I and Chalcedon.

> the emperor deceived Macedonius through the agency of the magister Celar, having sent him a memorandum in which he agreed to accept the first and second synods, but omitted Ephesos and Chalcedon. This brought much censure on Macedonius.[474]

It has been argued that the document in question had in fact been forged to compromise Macedonius.[475] However, whether or not Macedonius indeed signed such a document is less important. What is more important is that nobody in this period would have dared to question the authority of the Council of Ephesus of 431. Macedonius himself, though reviled by Zacharias as a Nestorian and, along with the Acoimetae monks, a follower

[471] Liberatus, *Breviarium* XVIIII, 133. Victor of Tunnunna (*Chronicon* 87, 27) makes an interesting observation (under the year 505), which leads one to believe that not only the Chalcedonians, but also the anti-Chalcedonians were producing in this period variants of the biblical text that were suiting their needs: "Constantinopolim iubente Anastasio imperatore sancta euangelia tanquam ab idiotis euangelistis composita reprehenduntur atque emendantur." (cf. *supra*, fn. 199, concerning the different variants of Hebrews 2:9).
[472] See presentation in *Zacharias* VII, 7, 168.
[473] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6003, 235. According to Theophanes, the emperor was personally involved in the plotting. The *Letter of the monks of Palestine to Alcison of Nicopolis* in *Evagrius* III, 31, 168-172.
[474] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6004, 236. The *Letter of the monks of Palestine to Alcison of Nicopolis* places this episode in the context of the statement of faith requested of patriarch Elias of Jerusalem in 508-9 (*Evagrius* III, 31, 171)
[475] See *Evagrius*, fn. 109, 171.

of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus,[476] would never have dreamt of eliminating Ephesus I from the canon of accepted councils. Since this document was not preserved, one can only make speculations about its content: it was perhaps a statement of faith declaring that Macedonius embraced the faith of Nicaea, which had also been confirmed in Constantinople in 381. That the omission of Ephesus was then used against him was not a new type of ruse (even though, as a particular accusation, it was not frequently used): Timothy Aelurus had been accused in a similar manner – although perhaps more pertinently – of rejecting the Council of Constantinople of 381.

Another element that was – at least as far as we can interpret a side-remark by Theophanes – purposely used to raise scandal and further compromise Macedonius was the singing of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the liturgy in Constantinople.

> In the same year the emperor also plotted against Macedonius. The schismatics, supported by a hired throng, in singing the Trishagion on a Sunday in the church of the Archangel in the palace and in the Great Church, added the phrase "Who wast crucified for us," **so that the orthodox were forced to drive them out with blows.**[477]

The schismatics referred to by Theophanes in this passage are certainly the anti-Chalcedonians, and, more particularly, the anti-Chalcedonian monks present in Constantinople at that time, many of whom (Palestinian monks) had accompanied Severus on his trip to the capital in 508. The information provided by Theophanes in the above passage is confirmed by a letter written by Severus to Soterichus of Caesarea, fragments of which

[476] *Zacharias* VII, 7, 168. According to this source, Macedonius composed a compilation of texts from Theodore, Diodore and Theodoret of Cyrrhus which he allegedly presented to the emperor as being a collection of texts from the Fathers (*Ibid.*, VII, 7, 168-9). The emperor ordered it to be burnt. The information is extracted from the letter of Simeon the presbyter to Samuel the presbyter and archimandrite, reproduced by Zacharias at VII, 8, 171.

[477] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6003, 235. Emphasis mine.

have been preserved in Coptic. According to this letter, a group of monks singing the Theopaschite Trisagion was attacked by Macedonius' acolytes.[478]

Macedonius was deposed in August 511, but the problem of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the Constantinopolitan liturgy persisted. In the fall of 512, emperor Anastasius (according to Zacharias and Malalas, under the influence of the anti-Chalcedonian Marinus of Apamea, a counselor of Antiochian origin) attempted to add the Theopaschite phrase to the liturgical Trisagion.[479] The initiative, endorsed by patriarch Timothy of Constantinople, encountered serious opposition that quickly degenerated into a riot.[480] Anastasius was nearly overturned.[481]

3.2.2. Contemporary reception and interpretation of the events of 511-512

A peculiar reference to the use of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the capital shows up in a letter sent by Avitus of Vienne (ca. 450-518) to the king Gundobad (d. in 516), the eldest son of the Burgundian king Chilpéric. Contrary to the rest of the historical testimonies regarding this matter, Avitus explains that the revolt in Constantinople in the second decade of the sixth century was caused by attempts made by the patriarch of Constantinople to *remove* the Theopaschite phrase from the liturgical Trisagion, which was otherwise, Avitus seems to think, widely accepted in the capital. The patriarch encountered heavy opposition from the people of Constantinople, according to Avitus. Found guilty, he was deposed, and the emperor "did not stand in the way:"

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[478] G. Garitte, "Fragments coptes d'une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche à Sotérichos de Césarée," *Le Muséon* 65 (1952): 185-198.
[479] *Zacharias* VII, 9, 177-8.
[480] See *Evagrius* III, 44; Evagrius merges the two conflicts over the liturgical Trisagion in Constantinople into one, and places it in the period before Macedonius' deposition. See also Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6005, 240 and *Zacharias* VII, 9, 178.
[481] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6005, 240; Malalas, *Chronicle* 16, 19, 228.

> It is customary in the East in the churches of important cities for a supplication to be made at the beginning of the mass to accompany the praise of the Lord. The voice of the plebs raises this acclamation as one with such religious enthusiasm and alacrity that they believe – not without reason – that any plea made in the subsequent liturgical celebration will find favour [with God] as long as this dutiful expression of devotion is added at the beginning. Even though Your Piety is very familiar with it, I decided that it would be a good idea to cite the end of this supplicatory prayer here, since my argument requires it: "Holy God, Holy Powerful One, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us! You who were crucified for us, have mercy on us!" And just as it had been whispered to the emperor, so he too made it known to the bishop: that nothing should be a cause of dissension, and that there would be no mention of dissension, if the bishop, once he had been asked to do so by the emperor, were to order or allow what used to move the souls of some in the prayer to be removed. Allegedly some were not content that at the end of the prayer itself they called out: "You who were crucified for us, have mercy on us!" You know that this means in Latin "You who were crucified for us, have mercy on us!" **He managed to convince the bishop of this, who was careless and in no way learned enough to be the patriarch of so great a city and, through it, patriarch of the whole East.** Through an ill-advised definition of this solemn prayer, he thought up and arranged a loss that had so great an effect, that the clause, because it had not been handed down in the canonical scriptures or instituted at the time of the apostles, seemed easily susceptible of alteration – even against the will of the people. **But where the hymn was customarily first sung in church, because the end of the prayer had been deleted, it did not please the audience.** Whatever was considered the product of Eutychian heretics clearly seemed to be the [theological] message of this patriarch. **What one of the faithful would not rightly be upset, if he heard that one ought not to pray to him who had been crucified for us?** What more need I say? A storm of riots swelled up. While the people insisted, and the emperor did not stand in their way, the patriarch was expelled from his ancient see, and – to make matters worse – he was not innocent.[482]

It is unlikely that it was mere lack of information that made Avitus draw these conclusions about the situation in Constantinople. It is more plausible that a propagandistic account of the events that took place in Constantinople in 511 found its way to the West, and that, more than anything else, this is what shaped Avitus' interpretation of the events. Such a propagandistic campaign probably had imperial backing.[483] This situation is not surprising,

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[482] Avitus of Vienne, *Contra Eutychianam haeresim* II (*Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose*, ed., tr. and comm. D. Shanzer and I. Wood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 109-111. Emphasis mine.

[483] For a brief suggestion regarding Avitus' misinformation as being a result of imperial propaganda, see D. Schanzer and I. Wood, *Avitus of Vienne: Selected Letters and Prose*, 92. It appears that Avitus was not even aware at this time of the Acacian schism. This means that his perception of the contemporary situation in the

given the friendly relations maintained by Anastasius with the Burgundian kingdom.[484] An account was probably sent from Constantinople to the West. In this Macedonius was portrayed as the main villain, and "who was crucified for us" was presented as an orthodox formula with a long tradition behind it and widely accepted in Constantinople. This, most likely, was an episode from the campaign (presented above) that led to the deposition of Macedonius in the summer of 511.

There existed a Chalcedonian counterpart to this propaganda, one that is reflected very well in the forged letters to Peter the Fuller.[485] E. Schwartz has convincingly argued that these letters were in fact written by monks living in or near Constantinople (perhaps from among the Acoimetae monks), and that they are closely related to the conflicts over the Theopaschite Trisagion of 511 and 512.[486] Several aspects in these letters are meant to dissociate the Trisagion from the "heretical" addition "who was crucified for us," and to demonstrate that neither tradition nor orthodox interpretation justifies this addition. Thus, the letters mention the legend according to which the Trisagion was first introduced by Proclus of Constantinople as a result of a revelation, and did not contain the Theopaschite addition.[487] Moreover, it is argued in the letters, the original (and orthodox) understanding of the Trisagion was Trinitarian,[488] which rendered the Theopaschite addition heretical.

East was not influenced by Rome, and that he was in fact even more open to accounts coming from Constantinople. It is ultimately beyond doubt that Avitus' knowledge of the history of doctrinal controversies in the East was limited; he writes, for example, that Eutyches was the one who refused to use the term *Theotokos*, and preferred instead the term *Christotokos* (Epistula 2, *Avitus of Vienne*, 96).

[484] See discussion in F.K. Haarer, *Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World* (Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2006), 99-100. Diplomatic relations continued between Constantinople and the Burgundian kingdom at a time when relations with Rome had been severed. The Burgundian kings pledged loyalty to Anastasius. Coinage, for example, reveals the emperor's authority in the Burgundian kingdom.

[485] See *Coll. Avellana* 71-78, 162-219.

[486] E. Schwartz, *PS*, 291-3. See also A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 2, 253; 259-264.

[487] *Coll. Avellana* 72, 180.

[488] *Ibid.*, 71-78, *passim*. See, for example, *Coll. Avellana* 71, 166.

The Trisagion was thus being dissociated entirely from Antioch; its origin was placed in Constantinople in Proclus' time, and the Antiochian interpretation of the hymn in a Christological key was contested. That the matter of the origin of the Trisagion was nowhere as clearly settled as these letters would want us to believe has already been discussed in previous sections of this dissertation. Closest to the publication of the letters, the events of 511-512 confirm it abundantly.

Beyond the forged character of these letters, which is in itself reason enough for circumspection, certain elements point to the fact that the argument regarding the correct understanding of the Trisagion may have also been a circumstantial contrivance used within a propagandistic campaign rather than a true reflection of the traditional Constantinopolitan understanding of the Trisagion. First and foremost, there exist numerous examples of the Trisagion used in a Christological interpretation in Constantinople.[489] In his study of the Trisagion, S. Janeras, while unquestioningly accepting the idea[490] that the Byzantine interpretation of the Trisagion was essentially Trinitarian, ultimately brings together evidence pointing to a significant number of instances where the Trisagion was used Christologically in the Byzantine tradition. [491] However, neither the relevant evidence pointing to a Christological understanding of the Trisaigon, nor that pointing to a Trinitarian understanding predates the sixth century.[492]

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[489] S. Janeras has collected examples in two articles: "Le Trisagion: Une formule brève en liturgie comparée," and "Les byzantins et le Trisagion christologique," in *Miscellanea Liturgica in onore di Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro* 2 (Rome: 1967), 469-499.
[490] Accepted, for example, by A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 2, 259.
[491] S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 548; 557.
[492] See *Ibid.*, 555-560. The earliest extensive exposition on the Trinitarian interpretation of the Trisagion is identified by Janeras in a work by Ephrem of Antioch (527-545). This supports the idea that the Trinitarian interpretation crystallized in Byzantine theological tradition after the conflicts over the introduction of the Theopaschite Trisagion in Constantinople in 511-512. For a Christological interpretation, Janeras quotes as an early example that of Romanos Melodos (sixth century), problematic not only because of the date, but also because of the difficulty of pinpointing the tradition he represents.

It was probably only at the beginning of the sixth century, when faced with the Theopaschite addition, and in order to refute it, that the Byzantines started theorizing on the correct interpretation of the Trisagion. In this context, they proposed the Trinitarian interpretation as representing the established tradition in Constantinople, and used it as an argument against the attempts to impose the Theopaschite Trisagion on the liturgy of the capital.

The right understanding of the Trisagion became, it seems, a central element of the controversies over Theopaschism in Constantinople. Zacharias illustrates this in his account of the Trisagion controversy in Constantinople in 512. According to this source, Marinus of Apamea had been the one to suggest to emperor Anastasius in the fall of 512 that the Theopaschite phrase be added to the Trisagion. In response to protests against the Theopaschite Trisagion, Marinus of Apamea, Zacharias reports, argued for the Christological interpretation, and against the Trinitarian in this way:

> And when some heretics heard of his ardour, they went to him together, and said to him, "You desire and incite men on earth to go beyond the holy hymn of praise which the angels offer to the Trinity, saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, mighty Lord, of whose praises heaven and earth are full.' " Immediately, God the Word Himself, Who in the flesh was crucified for us men, prepared a defense in his mouth to this effect, "The angels, indeed, offer the hymn of praise, which contains their confession to the adorable and co-equal Trinity, rightly, and do not proclaim that He was crucified for them; but we, on the other hand, in the hymn of praise, which contains our confession, rightly say that He was crucified for us men, for He became incarnate from us, and did not invest Himself with the nature of angels." And so he put them to silence, and he instructed the king, who thereupon commanded that the words, "Who was crucified for us," should be proclaimed in the royal city as in the district of Antioch.[493]

According to this argument, the biblical Sanctus was rightly interpreted in a Trinitarian key, while the meaning of the Trisagion hymn, although directly derived from the

[493] *Zacharias* VII, 9, 178.

Sanctus, was Christological.[494] As S. Janeras has argued, the place of the Trisagion in the liturgy, in association with the Great Entrance and the offering of the Holy Gifts, confirms the fact that the Trisagion hymn was meant to be understood Christologically in the liturgy.[495] The opponents of the Theopaschite addition may have thus purposely proposed a unified Trinitarian interpretation of the Sanctus and of the Trisagion, in a fallacious attempt, as was already argued, to demonize the Theopaschite phrase "who was crucified for us" as outrageously heretical.

No doubt this strategy was not without success. Severus dedicates a considerable part of his *Cathedral Homily* 125 from 518,[496] to arguing at length in favor of the Christological interpretation of the Trisagion, thus revealing that by 518 this problem of interpretation was still a matter of interest and debate. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Trinitarian interpretation would slowly become prevalent in Constantinople and be detached from the context of controversy in which it probably originated.

3.2.3. Neo-Chalcedonian promotion of Theopaschism in Constantinople

Aside from (and, as it seems, in parallel to) this strongly negative reception of the Theopaschite Trisagion in Constantinople, there existed a certain opening among Chalcedonians to a more moderate version of Theopaschite discourse. A document of an unusual nature, a poem incorporated in a Christian oracle dated with some certainty by B.

[494] The Sanctus was in fact frequently interpreted Christologically as well; see S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 560-561; S.P. Brock, "The thrice-holy hymn in the Liturgy," *Sobornost* 7:2 (1985): 24-34, here 27-28.
[495] S. Janeras, "Le Trisagion," 503.
[496] See, in particular, Severus, *Homily* 125, 245-7.

Daley to the period of conflict that led to Macedonius' deposition in August 511,[497] contains a passage of great interest to the present discussion.

The text in question approaches Theopaschism in a manner consistent with the new developments that would be brought together under the name of neo-Chalcedonianism. The author insists on the fact that the one who suffered on the cross is God, but, at the same time, juxtaposes to his Theopaschite formulations phrases pointing to the impassibility of the divinity in a manner that was considered unacceptable by the Miaphysites:[498]

> The one who suffers is God, yet the godhead itself does not suffer;
> For he was both mortal and immortal at once,
> Incapable of dying yet capable of it, God's Word and human flesh;
> Yet neither was changed, nor did they come to be separated
> Or exist apart from each other. God himself is also a man,
> Receiving all from his Father and possessing all which was his mother's –
> Possessing life-giving might from his deathless Father,
> And from his mortal mother the cross, burial, contempt and sorrow,
> Seeing into, surveying, and hearing all things at once.
> Hot tears once flowed from his eyes,
> When the sad news about his friend reached him;
> And he destroyed the reason for grieving, and brought out of Hades
> The man whom he had grieved for, who rushed forth again into the light.
> As a mortal he grieved, and as God he saved.
> He fed five thousand from five loaves,
> On the lofty hills; for such was the will of his immortal might.
> Christ is my God, who was stretched out on the tree
> Who died, who went into the tomb, who was raised from the tomb into heaven.[499]

The text is highly reminiscent of the manner in which Vigilius of Thapsus had treated Theopaschism in his *Contra Eutychen*, composed sometime between 470 and 482.[500]

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[497] See B.E. Daley, "Apollo as a Chalcedonian: A New Fragment of a Controversial Work from Early Sixth-Century Constantinople," *Traditio* 50 (1995), 31–54, *passim*, in particular 47-8.
[498] Contradicting Daley's view in "Apollo as a Chalcedonian," largely based on the weak argument that Theopaschite discourse was essentially integral to the Miaphysite Christology, and only later became a part of neo-Chalcedonian Christology, P.F. Beatrice has argued that the poem was written by Severus of Antioch, probably in 496; the insistence of the poem on the distinction "mortal according to the flesh, immortal according to the divinity," a characteristic of the neo-Chalcedonian use of Theopaschite discourse, makes this an unlikely hypothesis. See P.F. Beatrice, "Monophysite Christology in an Oracle of Apollo," in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4.1 (1997): 3-22.
[499] B.E. Daley, "Apollo as a Chalcedonian," 43.

However, the distinctions drawn by the author of the oracle between impassibility *secundum divinitatem* and passibility *secundum humanitatem* are somewhat less sharp than those of Vigilius. As a result, significantly less apprehensiveness and more confidence in using Theopaschite discourse can be detected in the tone of the text. The poetic form may account for this to some extent. Furthermore, the rapidly growing popularity of neo-Chalcedonian Christological expositions – still a rarity at the time when Vigilius had composed his *Contra Eutychen* – in the beginning of the sixth century certainly played an important part in this. This early appropriation of Theopaschite discourse by neo-Chalcedonians in Constantinople is consistent with the similar developments in Antioch and Jerusalem analyzed above.

The numerous controversies that appear to have been brought on by the spreading of the use of the Theopaschite Trisagion in the Eastern Empire do not obscure a fact of great importance for the history of Theopaschism: by the time of Severus' patriarchate (512-518), the anti-Chalcedonians had grown more and more comfortable with using Theopaschite discourse, whether in the liturgy or in the context of doctrinal controversies. The embarrassment that had triggered a reserved attitude vis-à-vis Theopaschism in the first generation of anti-Chalcedonians had diminished. This development is particularly evident if one compares Philoxenus' repeated attempts at complete de-historicization when defending Theopaschism (however confidently) in the early 480s,[501] so as to achieve legitimization

[500] See Chapter 1, 54-64.
[501] Philoxenus would progressively move away from this type of a-historical argumentation. Toward the end of his career, and especially during the period of his exile, Philoxenus' historical representations become visibly more developed, and fully consistent with those commonly produced by the Miaphysites: the condemnation of Eutyches was essentially a smoke screen meant to conceal an ill-intentioned attack on Cyril of Alexandria, the repudiation of Chalcedon is the defense of Cyril, and the association between Nestorius and Chalcedon is not only doctrinal, but also historical (see Philoxenus' *Letter to the monks of Senun*). References to contemporary events, as well as to the period immediately preceding his office in the see of Mabbug also become numerous. The growing presence of the historical element in Philoxenus' correspondence matches a growing awareness of

through emphasizing the notion of long-standing tradition, with Severus' self-assured acknowledgment of the fact that, like many other elements pertaining to ecclesiastical practice, the use of the Theopaschite Trisagion was a historical development, and, what is more, one of recent date:

> The customs of the Church did not all come down from apostolic traditions. There are some that have spread in all the churches under the sky through later developments and expansions. [after a few examples] But many other things have also been added later, be it through prayers or acts of worship. And if somebody does not accept "who was crucified for us" because it is a novelty, let him also reject the [Trisagion] hymn in its entirety, because it is not ancient, but was introduced in recent times. [...] If then in our worship we have accepted this addition as being pious, and we confess as true God him who was crucified, let us not call the confession of our faith "novelty." For this element of worship, which fights the Jewish madness of Nestorius and which is thus chanted in the holy churches of God was introduced with a good reason.[502]

In tone with this growing confidence in using Theopaschite discourse among anti-Chalcedonians is Philoxenus of Mabbug's separation of the Theopaschite phrase "one of the Trinity was crucified for us" from the liturgical context, and its use as a battle-cry in doctrinal disputes, and as part of anathemas against his Dyophysite opponents.

A certain amount of embarrassment persisted however in this period. In addition to the manifold doctrinal reprobation to which they were submitted on account of their support of Theopaschism, the anti-Chalcedonians became also the object of sarcastic treatments from the critics of Theopaschism. In the same *Cathedral Homily* 125 Severus of Antioch discusses the mocking distortion of the phrase "who was crucified *for us*," (δι' ἡμᾶς) which resulted in

the necessity to prove that the doctrine he and his party supported was not only orthodox, but also mainstream, and that their tradition identified itself with that of the orthodox imperial Church. At the time of Calandion's patriarchate in Antioch Philoxenus could afford to fight under the mantle of confessorship, envisaging scriptural arguments as the most powerful weapons, the old-Syriac literary tradition of Ephrem as the most valid framework for achieving legitimization, and the proper recitation of a hymn such as the Trisagion as a guarantee of orthodoxy. The need for adapting his system of argumentation and his confrontational strategies was reduced; clearly, by 519 this situation had changed completely.

[502] Severus, *Homily 125*, 247-9. Emphasis mine.

the accusation that the "Theopaschites" revered the thief who was crucified next to Jesus Christ (Δουμας).[503]

The same Severus refers to a more obscure derisive reference to Theopaschism in a letter written before his episcopacy to John the tribune:

> [...] but hear me the unlearned and uninstructed, and do not revile the man of God, with whom all the fathers were satisfied at that time, not having received the satisfaction that is from men, but that which is from God: and I, the mean and sinful, am, as I persuade myself, no false witness of this. We **did not love Timothy [Aelurus] as having been crucified for us**, as you say, but as having been a true bondservant of Him who was of His own accord crucified for the race of men, and a faithful and wise steward of God's mysteries [...][504]

The context does not clarify this reference beyond the hints contained in this passage. It appears that Severus' correspondent had formulated an accusation according to which too much reverence was being paid to the late bishop of Alexandria: to express this, John the tribune – or perhaps others – had probably used a reference to the formula "who was crucified for us" derisively.

The fact that the more liberal supporters of Chalcedon, the neo-Chalcedonians, showed themselves more and more willing to accept and promote Theopaschite discourse seems to have further increased a sense of embarrassment, and to have eventually triggered a diminishing presence of this type of discourse in anti-Chalcedonian texts, and a less emphatic promotion of it. In addition to expressing direct criticism of the "hypocritical" use of Theopaschite phrases by the neo-Chalcedonians, Philoxenus of Mabbug, for example, also became significantly less assertive in his use of Theopaschite discourse in the period following his ordination to the see of Mabbug (485), and even more visibly in the period of his conflict with Flavian of Antioch.

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[503] *Ibid.*, 253.
[504] Severus, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters* V.1, 280-281. Emphasis mine.

The neo-Chalcedonian promotion of Theopaschism would have long-lasting effects on the history of doctrine. As was seen in this chapter, two different initiatives to include Theopaschism within the neo-Chalcedonian program are extant, one from Constantinople, in the form of the Christian oracle, and one from Jerusalem, mentioned by Philoxenus in the *Letter to the monks of Senun*. Consistent with this was the adoption of Theopaschism by neo-Chalcedonians in Antioch, in particular by patriarch Flavian in the years immediately preceding his deposition. As will be seen in the final chapter of this dissertation, through the intermediary of this neo-Chalcedonian trend, developments that took place in the years 518-533 eventually established Theopaschism in its formulaic variety as a test of orthodoxy.

Chapter 4: 518-520: The Theopaschite Controversy

Anastasius I died on 9 July 518 and his successor, Justin I, an Illyrian by birth and a man of low origin who had held the office of *comes excubitorum* under Anastasius, was crowned emperor on the following day.[505] The first memorable action of his reign focused on religious policy and was represented by the enforcement of the Council of Chalcedon in the Eastern provinces of the empire. The most emblematic figure of the anti-Chalcedonian party, Severus of Antioch, was forced to flee to Egypt in September 518, in order to escape persecution.[506] The anti-Chalcedonian movement as a whole suffered a severe blow with this change of regime.[507]

There is evidence that Justin I may not have been as strongly and systematically pro-Chalcedonian in his convictions as he has traditionally been described in modern secondary literature.[508] Upon his accession, given the pressure from Chalcedonian circles, this was

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505 See *Evagrius* IV, 1-2, 200-201; *Ibid.*, fn. 1-2, 200. See G.B. Greatrex, "The Early Years of Justin I's Reign in the Sources," *Electrum* 12 (2007), 99-113, for an insightful analysis of the accession of Justin I. Greatrex argues that the story of the accession preserved in most sources (according to which Justin received money from the chief eunuch Amantius to lobby in favor of the coronation of Theocritus as emperor), as well as the story regarding the conspiracy at the beginning of Justin's reign, that led to the execution of Amantius, are probably propagandistic fabrications. This article also invites to a reassessment of Justin's early religious policy.

506 *Evagrius* IV, 4, 202. According to Evagrius, Justin gave an order to have Severus' tongue cut out (IV, 4, 202-3), while Vitalian "demanded the tongue of Severus, because in his writings Severus insulted him." Zacharias (VIII, 2, 191) reports that it was the *magister militum* Vitalian in fact who demanded Severus' tongue. Zacharias implies that it was because of his involvement in the ousting of Flavian of Antioch that Vitalian hated Severus (Vitalian was Flavian's godson). Theophanes reports that, under Vitalian's influence, Justin ordered that Severus be removed from his see and put to death (Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6011, 249).

507 As G.B. Greatrex has noted, from Justin's accession until Theodora started to host anti-Chalcedonians at the Palace of Hormisdas, there is practically no mention of anti-Chalcedonian presence in the capital (G.B. Greatrex, "Patriarchs and Politics in Constantinople in the Reign of Anastasius," unpublished; originally presented in an abridged version at the Oxford International Conference on Patristics Studies, 2007, under the title "The Fall of Macedonius Reconsidered").

508 This position (that Justin was strongly pro-Chalcedonian) has been taken by A. Grillmeier (see *CCT* II, 1, 318-322), as well as by A.A. Vasiliev. While A.A. Vasiliev's *Justin the First: An Introduction to the Reign of Justinian* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950) remains the most comprehensive study to date of Justin I's reign, several among Vasiliev's arguments have been challenged in recent studies. V. Menze (*The Making of a Church: The Syrian Orthodox in the Shadow of Byzantium and the Papacy*, Ph.D. dissertation, 2004, Princeton University, retrieved 05/20/2007; accessed at Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database (Publication No. AAT 3154518); published as a book in 2008 by Oxford University Press, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*) has opposed this view (21-26), arguing that someone who had served under the anti-

probably the most favorable stance for the new emperor. Justin's decision to reverse Anastasius I's policy, to uphold the Council of Chalcedon as a standard of orthodoxy, and to attempt the restoration of unity between the East and the West remain his indelible imprint on Church history.

This latter ambition of the court in Constantinople required significant compromise from the Eastern regions of the empire, since the readiness for compromise in Rome was minimal at this stage. Pope Hormisdas offered a *Libellus*, originally written by him in 515, as basis for reconciliation.[509] Beyond the acceptance of Chalcedon, which had already been enforced in Constantinople immediately after Justin's accession, the *Libellus* formulated a requirement (and subsequent papal correspondence reiterated it on numerous occasions) that the Easterners were less eager to meet, namely the condemnation of Acacius and of all those who had followed him in the see of Constantinople at the time of the Acacian schism.[510]

The pope sent legates to Constantinople[511] to ensure that the bishops of the Eastern Empire appended their signatures to the *Libellus*. On their way to Constantinople, the legates made several stops and, on each occasion, attempted to obtain signatures from the bishops of the regions they were visiting. While some of these bishops gave their signatures

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Chalcedonian Anastasius is unlikely to have held strong Chalcedonian convictions, and that the initial approval for Chalcedon in the summer of 518 came under pressure from strict Chalcedonians, possibly monks, in Constantinople. Moreover, the persecutions initiated by Justin were probably not as fierce as they are often characterized in the sources. Philoxenus of Mabbug, for example, one of the leaders of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in the East, succeeded in keeping his see until sometime in the second half of the year 519.

[509] See discussion in V. Menze, *The Making of a Church: The Syrian Orthodox in the Shadow of Byzantium and the Papacy*, 57-107.

[510] The *libellus* is not extant, but this requirement can be deduced from subsequent correspondence between Rome and Constantinople.

[511] The papal legates on this occasion were the bishops Germanus and Ioannes, the deacons Felix and Dioscorus (the latter of Alexandrian origin), and the priest Blandus. See *Coll. Avellana* 149, 1, 594.

unproblematically, and even with enthusiasm, others gave them reluctantly, and yet others refused to sign.[512]

In a report sent to pope Hormisdas on 22 April 519, the deacon Dioscorus explained emphatically how well they, the legates, and the papal *Libellus* were received in Constantinople (they arrived on 25 March 519), and how the pope's missive restored a long-awaited peace.[513] However, it appears from the very letter of the legate that the support may not have been as wholehearted as Dioscorus presents it. The day after their arrival in Constantinople, they presented the *Libellus* to the emperor and to the senate. The gathering in question comprised four bishops representing patriarch John II of Constantinople, but not the patriarch himself. The absence of the patriarch of Constantinople from the gathering may in fact be indicative of a rather reserved reception of the papal delegation. Moreover, the reply given to the legates by the emperor does not reveal that the *Libellus* was deferentially received: "have a meeting with the bishop of this city and make peace,"[514] the emperor presumably told them. This reply shows, however, that the emperor wanted to restore the unity without much regard for the compromises that either party had to make for this purpose.

On one of the following days, the patriarch of Constantinople signed the *Libellus*, but only after initially wanting to compose a different letter meant to replace Hormisdas' document.[515] When asked to sign, in their turn, the archimandrites present in Constantinople

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[512] *Coll. Avellana* 167, 3-4, 618. "After much dispute," Dorotheus of Thessalonica reluctantly agreed to sign the *libellus* at a later time.
[513] *Ibid.*, 167, 14-15, 621.
[514] *Ibid.*, 167, 7, 619.
[515] *Ibid.*, 167, 10, 620. "inprimis quasi temptavit epistolam potius facere quam libellum."

gave an answer that suggests that they may have been trying to escape signing: "it is enough that our archbishop did this."[516]

The eventual signing of the *Libellus* by the authorities in Constantinople and restoration of unity between the East and the West did not mark the end of problems. Around the time of the arrival of the papal legates in Constantinople a new controversy broke out: a group of monks from the province of Scythia Minor, a territory situated between the Danube and the Black Sea, suggested that a rectification be brought to the newly established canon of orthodoxy. In their view, the Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" was needed in order to protect the Council of Chalcedon from Nestorian interpretations.[517] The controversy that ensued is known as the Theopaschite controversy.

As seen in the previous chapter, this Theopaschite formula (or variations thereof) reentered the stage of doctrinal controversy toward the end of the fifth century. The anti-Chalcedonian Philoxenus of Mabbug used it frequently and promoted it forcefully. It was even adopted by moderate Chalcedonians, in the hope of making a rapprochement with the anti-Chalcedonians at a time when such a rapprochement was strongly endorsed by the court in Constantinople. Philoxenus of Mabbug's correspondence contains indications that Flavian of Antioch (498-512) and other Dyophysites were using this formula (misusing it, according to Philoxenus), and, from his *Letter to the monks of Palestine* and the *Letter to the monks of Senun*, we can gather that Philoxenus was probably fearful of the possible manipulations that

[516] *Coll. Avellana* 167, 12, 620. Due to the frequent recent reversals of power relations, a fear of appending one's signature to new documents could also have factored in this response.
[517] A. Grillmeier wrongly hypothesized that the monks came to Constantinople "to protect the Council of Chalcedon, probably in the face of Severan opponents, against the reproach of Nestorianism by producing a greater synthesis between the Cyril of the mia-physis formula and the unification Christology of Proclus" (*CCT* II, 2, 321). The monks actually revolted against a Nestorian appropriation of Chalcedon. For the existence of Nestorian appropriations of Chalcedon beginning of the sixth centuries, see discussion of material included in the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in L. Duchesne, *L'Église au VIe siècle* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1925), 67-68; celebrations in honor of Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Nestorius are attested in Cyrrhus after the exile of bishop Sergius in 519.

could have resulted from this appropriation, given the popular appeal that Theopaschite discourse enjoyed among anti-Chalcedonians.[518]

This chapter gives an account of the historical development of the Theopaschite controversy (in Constantinople in the spring of 519, and then in Rome from July 519 until august 520), interesting in itself due to the protagonists involved and to the various turns of events it took. It then examines the influences that may have originally driven the Scythian monks toward embracing the Theopaschite formula and upholding it with such determination. This will situate the Theopaschite controversy within the larger range of attitudes toward, and uses of, Theopaschite discourse seen in previous chapters.

Beyond the previously formulated scholarly opinions according to which the Scythians were influenced by the Constantinopolitan milieu (A. Grillmeier)[519] or by the East, in particular by Palestinian monasticism (V. Schurr),[520] I will also take into consideration the regional context of Scythia Minor. Strong evidence suggests that the use of Theopaschite language was not foreign in Scythia Minor in the period between (and possibly even before) the Council of Chalcedon and the outbreak of the Theopaschite controversy. Alongside the Constantinopolitan and Palestinian influences, the Scythian heritage played a great role in the Theopaschite controversy.

The Epilogue to this dissertation will then discuss the outcome of the Theopaschite controversy, namely Justinian's campaign and legislation meant to validate the use of the

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[518] See Chapter 3. This evidence contradicts the opinion circulated sometimes in secondary literature, namely that the adoption of Theopaschite discourse by Chalcedonians was appealing to the Miaphysites (see, for example, V. Grumel, "L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire Ὁ Μονογενής," *Échos d'Orient* 22 (1923): 398-418, here 413).
[519] E.g., A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II,2, 320.
[520] V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der "skythischen Kontroversen"* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 1935), 149-154.

Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" in the church, and how these initiatives were received in Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian circles.

1. History of the Conflict

Under the umbrella of the *Henoticon*, during the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius I, groups with diverging beliefs were able to cohabit without irremediable frictions. When asked to go beyond the policy of the vague and to sign Hormisdas' *Libellus*, the divergences became noticeable and controversy ensued. Chalcedon was accepted by some with strictness, following Hormisdas' requirements. Others, wanting to maintain the status quo, opposed the first group as Nestorians and proposed a more strongly Cyrillian understanding of Chalcedon. It is to this latter category that the Scythian monks belong.

The initiative of the Scythian monks has been described by some scholars as disruptive to what had otherwise been a successful process of reconciliation with Rome.[521] However, there is evidence that points to the fact that, even aside from the Scythian upheaval, this process had not been a smooth one. Several letters contained in the *Collectio Avellana* point to this. In Thessalonica, for example, bishop Dorotheus refused to sign the *Libellus* upon the arrival of the papal legates in the East in early 519,[522] and later staged a revolt against a Roman delegation which came to obtain signatures for Hormisdas' letter.[523] Another report of the papal legates to Hormisdas mentions that a "dispute arose in the city of Ephesus, where the Council of Chalcedon was disregarded and scorned."[524]

[521] See, for example, Ch. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme."
[522] *Coll. Avellana* 167, 3-4, 618.
[523] *Ibid.*, 186, 642-644.
[524] *Ibid.*, 216, 3, 675 (of 29 June 519).

While the events of 518-519 represented the first large-scale Scythian intervention in the religious landscape of the empire, there is some evidence that the Scythians, next to the then-invader Vitalian,[525] may have had some involvement in emperor Anastasius' decision (failed, ultimately) to convoke an ecumenical council at Heraclea in 515 in order to restore unity with the West. Anastasius wrote to Hormisdas about the proposed council, mentioning "these [events] that occurred in Scythia, on account of which we came to consider summoning a council."[526]

The lack of evidence makes it impossible to establish what the "events that occurred in Scythia" were. It is however to be assumed that, since emperor Anastasius considered convening a general council to settle these issues, they were religious dissensions.[527]

1.1. In Constantinople

1.1.1. Guests in Constantinople: the Scythian monks, the papal legates, and Vitalian

From the report of the papal legate Dioscorus it can be assumed that the monks came from Scythia to Constantinople not long before spring 519 (but before the legates' arrival on 25 March 519). The monks were in conflict with bishops from their region, and it was in this context that their initiative originated.[528] In Constantinople they also accused a certain deacon Victor of Nestorianism. Victor, Dioscorus related to Hormisdas, was a strict

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[525] Vitalian, of Scythian origin, launched three attacks on Constantinople in the years 514-516. He was a promoter of Chalcedon, and of peace with the West. After the second attack, emperor Anastasius I made openings toward Rome, offering to organize a council in Heraclea in 515 and inviting the newly-ordained pope Hormisdas (514-523) to attend. As will be seen below, Vitalian, promoted to the rank of *magister militum* by Justin I, became involved in the Theopaschite controversy. His actions and interests in this context are analyzed in the next section of this chapter.

[526] *Coll. Avellana* 107, 500

[527] A letter sent by pope Symmachus in 512 (*Coll. Avellana* 104, 487-493) to the neighboring Balkan regions of Dardania, Illyricum and Dacia indicates that there was opposition to the Council of Chalcedon in those regions. It is possible that the same situation arose in the neighboring region of Scythia Minor, and that this situation gave rise to the conflict mentioned by emperor Anastasius in the letter to Hormisdas referenced here.

[528] The legates reported to Hormisdas: "Isti de sua provincia episcopos accusant, inter quos est Paternus Tomitanae civitatis antistes." (*Coll. Avellana* 218, 6, 678).

Chalcedonian who refused to accept the insertion of the Theopaschite formula in the canon of orthodoxy, arguing that the four councils, pope Leo I's *Tome* and Cyril of Alexandria's *Second Letter to Nestorius* and his *Letter to John of Antioch*, also known as the Formula of Reunion of 433, were sufficient to fight off heresy.[529]

As can be deduced from several references in the sources, the monks were being supported by the powerful *magister militum* Vitalian, the one who, in light of his actions under Anastasius I in 514-516, when he attempted to restore Chalcedon to the canon of orthodoxy in the East, has been characterized as "the moving force behind the revival of a pro-Chalcedonian policy under Justin."[530] In addition to his Scythian origins, the *magister militum* appears to have had other, stronger ties to the Scythian monks involved in the Theopaschite controversy. He was, as Dioscorus mentions,[531] a relative of Leontius, one of the Scythian monks.[532] Vitalian was apparently himself in conflict with Paternus, the Tomitan bishop and the Scythian monks' opponent, since it is mentioned in the same letter of Dioscorus that emperor Justin reconciled them in 519.[533]

All these elements would be of high interpretative value, were it not for the difficulty of defining the exact relationship and web of reciprocal influences that existed between Vitalian and the monks, as well as of univocally attributing to one of the two sides the role of "instigator" in the Theopaschite controversy. It has been argued that Vitalian was the one who encouraged the monks' revolt and their coming to Constantinople,[534] probably because

[529] *Coll. Avellana* 224, 3-8, 685-6.
[530] P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East*, 46.
[531] *Coll. Avellana* 216, 5-6, 675.
[532]*Ibid.*, 5-6, 675: "some monks from Scythia, who come from the home region of Vitalianus, the *magister militum* [...] among which there is also Leontius, who claims to be a relative of the *magister militium.*"
[533] *Ibid.*, 7-8, 678.
[534] See W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 244; see also É. Amann, "Les moines Scythes," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 14, 2, ed. É. Amann (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1941), 1746-

of his conflict with Paternus, the Tomitan bishop. The opposite opinion was also formulated, namely that the monks exerted a great influence on Vitalian,[535] who, unyielding as he previously was in his support for Chalcedon, and given his efforts to obtain reconciliation between Constantinople and Rome, would otherwise not have adopted a position which could hinder the newly re-established union. Given Vitalian's strong support for Chalcedon during Anastasius' reign, it is possible to hypothesize that the monks' neo-Chalcedonianism had an influence on the *magister militum*. Beyond this it is ultimately impossible to define their relationship in terms of general influences.

1.1.2. The ordination in Antioch

Next to the doctrinal issues at stake in the Theopaschite controversy, there was at least one other major issue that seems to have influenced the course of events in the spring of 519, namely the ordination of a new bishop to the see of Antioch to replace Severus, who had been forced to flee to Egypt in September 518.[536]

By the end of April 519 a bishop had still not been elected to the throne of Antioch.[537] By the end of June 519, the legates reported the election of Paul (nicknamed "the Jew").

1753, here 1747. According to V. Schurr, the monks actually came to Constantinople at the same time as Vitalian, upon Justin I's accession (V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, 155).

[535] See E. Schwartz, *Praefatio*, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum IV, 2 (Strasbourg: C. J. Trübner, 1914), i-xxxii, here viii; following a report sent by the legates to Hormisdas (*Coll. Avellana* 217,11-12, 679), Schwartz speaks "about the transformation of Vitalian, once a friend of the Roman Church, and now instigated by those monks against the legates of the Apostolic See."

[536] *Evagrius* IV, 4, 203 and fn. 9, 203.

[537] See Dioscorus' *Suggestio* to pope Hormisdas of 22 April 519, *Coll. Avellana* 167, 16, 621. Letters in the same *Coll. Avellana* indicate that Paul the Jew was probably elected in June 519: "nunc, esti post labores, etsi post intentiones plures, Antiochena ecclesia ordinata est: electus quidam Paulus est nomine presbyter Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae, quem huic honori aptissimum imperatoris testimonio comprobatum est. Voluerunt et temptaverunt hic eum ordinare; ego iussionis vestrae non immemor contradixi dicens "iussit domnus noster beatissimus papa secundum antiquam consuetudinem ibi eum episcopum ordinari." hoc obtinuit, quod praecepistis." (*Coll. Avellana* 216, 4, 675, letter of 29 June 519). It is interesting to note that the Roman expectations regarding Constantinople's respect of the canons concerning ordination had lowered. While at the time of Leo I Constantinople was still trying to conceal its involvement in the ordination in Antioch in order to

According to Dioscorus, the conflict over the new ordination lasted almost three months,[538] meaning that the conflict started roughly around the time of the legates' arrival in Constantinople. No details are known about the search for suitable candidates before the arrival of the papal legates in Constantinople, although it is certain that the problem arose soon after Severus' flight.

In a letter from December 519 pope Hormisdas wrote that he had commended Dioscorus the deacon, his legate in Constantinople, for election to the see of Alexandria, "and it was not pleasing to us that the most merciful emperor was striving to place your charity at the head of the church of Antioch."[539] This fragment suggests that Dioscorus had been a candidate for the see of Antioch in the spring of 519, and had the support of the emperor.

As Dioscorus wrote to Hormisdas,[540] multiple interests (*intentiones plures*) were at play in the election of a patriarch for Antioch. Since Vitalian had been fiercely opposed to Severus of Antioch, one can only assume that, as one who had "demanded Severus' tongue,"[541] he also became involved in the conflict regarding the ordination in the spring of 519. It appears that, in addition to embracing the Theopaschite proposition of the Scythian monks despite the legates' opposition to it, Vitalian also opposed the ordination of the papal legate Dioscorus, a strict Chalcedonian, to the see of Antioch. Writing to Hormisdas, the

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avoid conflict with Rome (see Chapter 1), its involvement at this time was accepted and even expected. The only requirement left was that the chosen patriarch be ordained in Antioch, not in Constantinople. This lack of opposition from Rome is not surprising, given that the emperor's choice at some point during the process of searching for a suitable candidate seems to have been the Roman deacon Dioscorus himself.

[538] *Coll. Avellana* 217, 4, 677.

[539] *Ibid.*, 175, 3, 631-632.

[540] *Ibid.*, 216, 4, 675.

[541] *Zacharias* VIII, 2, 191.

papal legates deplored Vitalian's change of heart.[542] Vitalian's lack of support for Dioscorus' ordination was probably among the causes of this dissatisfaction.

The papal legates complained that the Scythian monks were also involved in the conflict regarding the ordination at Antioch. This leads one to believe that the ordination in Antioch and the Theopaschite controversy were more deeply intertwined than one can otherwise conclude from other sources:

> The matter of the ordination at Antioch not only gave us trouble, but also [caused us] great sorrow, since people who were in a haste to hinder the general union created various problems in various ways. This is what we advised about ordaining a prelate in the aforementioned church from among those who separated themselves from communion: they did not place before their eyes the future judgment, saying publicly: "All those who communicated with the apostolic church are Nestorians." (cf. *Coll. Avellana* 224), and further "that [people] ought not to trust those whom they see rejoining now the apostolic see in communion." [...] The monks from Scythia joined in and added to this sorrow, and they were a hindrance to the unity of the churches. [...][543]

As it appears, one of the main forces in this conflict over the election was a group of people who did not nourish good feelings toward the Romans, and who did not endorse the recent reconciliation with Rome. In his letter from 22 April 519, Dioscorus asked Hormisdas to remind the patriarch of Constantinople and the emperor that Severus and other anti-Chalcedonians had been condemned.[544] It can perhaps be understood from here that the patriarch of Constantinople himself was not opposed to this group, and that, at that time, the hesitation regarding the ordination at Antioch was growing.

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542 *Coll. Avellana* 217, 10-12, 679. "Propter istas novas suas intentiones Vitaliano magnifico viro subripuerunt et talia vindicare et pro talibus rebus contra nos, quaecumque potuit, impedimenta offere, cuius immutationem omnis nobiscum deflet ecclesia." This was written with regard to Vitalian's support of Theopaschism, and, therefore, from a Roman perspective, betrayal of Chalcedon. In contrast to this, Theophanes (*Chronographia* AM 6011, 249-250) writes that Vitalian remained thoroughly orthodox, and that it was under his influence that Chalcedon had been restored to the diptychs in 518.

543 *Coll. Avellana* 217, 2-5, 677-8.

544 *Ibid.*, 167, 17, 621: "Rescribe<re> episcopo Constantinopolitano si videtur beatitudini vestrae, facite mentionem damnationum Severi et illorum, quos nominastis in epistola illa, quam scripsistis ad secundam Syriam per Iohannem et Sergium monaschos. Hoc ipsum et ad imperatorem rescribentes si feceritis, videtur mihi necessarium esse."

Given the general climate in Constantinople at this time, it would be difficult to believe that this group of Orientals straightforwardly rejected the Council of Chalcedon. It is much more likely that they, just as the Scythians (who, as one can construe from Dioscorus' account, were associated to them), felt the need to add certain provisos to their acceptance of Chalcedon, in order to prevent a Nestorian interpretation of the Council. It is not unlikely that this was a group of neo- (or, in any case, very moderate) Chalcedonians from the diocese Oriens. It is also possible that, given their conflicting interests in the ordination at Antioch, the legates exaggerated the Orientals' opposition to the reconciliation in their reports to Hormisdas. One can ascertain from Dioscorus' report that this group was one of the main players in the conflict over the ordination at Antioch.

As the Romans arrived in the East, the court in Constantinople probably wanted to seal the newly brokered peace by having the papal legate Dioscorus ordained in Antioch. This initiative was, it seems, opposed by a group of Orientals, possibly of neo-Chalcedonian orientation. The Scythians, whose Theopaschite proposition was rejected by the legates,[545] and who embraced an interpretation and defense of Chalcedon similar to that of the Orientals, joined in this fight on the latter's side.

Vitalian himself probably became involved in the fight over the ordination at Antioch, as one who not only supported the Scythians on account of their common place of origin, but was also likely to support a group of Oriental neo-Chalcedonians who may have been vindicating the memory of Vitalian's godson, patriarch Flavian of Antioch, himself a neo-Chalcedonian toward the end of his career (498-512).[546]

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[545] See the discussion of the *Libellus fidei* below.

[546] For the relationship between Vitalian and Flavian of Antioch, see *Zacharias* VIII, 2, 191.

As seen below, Justin and Justinian tried to reconcile the parties involved in the Theopaschite controversy. Similarly, the court probably tried to find a compromise solution in the matter of the ordination at Antioch. The outcomes of these two series of negotiations are intertwined, and the failure of the negotiations in the Theopaschite question determined, as I argue below, the decision taken in the matter of the ordination in Antioch.

1.1.3. The negotiations

As the legates arrived in Constantinople in March 519, the Scythian monks approached them to gain their support, and asked for the Romans' approval for a profession of faith (a document which is known as the *Libellus fidei*) drawn by their leader, Maxentius. The title of the *Libellus* suggests that the legates refused to receive it.[547] However, the papal legates' letter to Hormisdas of 29 June 519 indicates that they may have been constrained to accept this document through the intervention of Vitalian and of the emperor.[548]

The main issue at stake in the *Libellus* is the necessity of introducing the Theopaschite formula as an addition to the decisions taken in Chalcedon in order to clarify the tenor of the council and to allow a more efficient fight against heresy. These intentions are explained in the prologue. The main section of the *Libellus* is a collection of patristic texts brought as support for the legitimacy of the formula.[549] Maxentius insisted on the idea

[547] Title: "Libellus fidei oblatus legatis apostolicae sedis Constantinopolim quem accipere noluerunt." (Maxentius, *Libellus fidei*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85A, ed. Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 5-25, 5).
[548] *Coll. Avellana* 217, 6, 678. "Petitiones obtulerunt et coacti piissimi principis et domni Vitaliani magistri militum iussione frequenter ad audientiam causae convenimus [...]" In *Coll. Avellana* 224, 3, 685, Dioscorus mentions that the *Libellus* was presented to them, but does not write anything about whether or how it was received.
[549] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei* V(10)-XII(23), 10-19.

that saying that "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" is orthodox. The final part of the *Libellus* deals briefly with the issues of grace and predestination.[550]

A series of gatherings meant to restore peaceful relations between the Scythians, bishop Paternus of Tomi, Vitalian the *magister militum*, Victor the deacon, the patriarch of Constantinople and the papal legates was convened in the spring of 519. The reports of the papal legates to Hormisdas are the only source that describes these gatherings.

The first of the meetings took place in the episcopal palace, probably not long after the arrival of the papal legates in Constantinople (since Dioscorus states that the purpose of this meeting was "that **we learn about** the conflict that developed between them.").[551] The papal legates, the Scythians, the Constantinopolitan bishop and the deacon Victor (whom, as seen above, the monks were accusing of being a Nestorian) convened.[552]

The bishop of Constantinople and the deacon Victor expressed their approval of Chalcedon. The Scythians in their turn proposed: "let the "one of the Trinity" be added."[553] The papal legates countered them, claiming that something that had not been established by one of the four councils and had not been used by pope Leo cannot be added to the canon of orthodoxy. At the end of his relation of this round of negotiations, Dioscorus commented:

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[550] The involvement of the Scythians in this controversial issue is rather puzzling. They obviously showed interest in it from an early date of the Theopaschite controversy, given the presence of this matter in the *Libellus fidei*, the earliest extant document from the controversy. It is possible that the Scythians were reacting to opinions held by some of their opponents in Constantinople. A controversy with the African bishop Possessor, apparently a supporter of Faustus of Riez, at the later stage of the Theopaschite controversy explains later involvement of the Scythians in this matter. Possessor used passages from Faustus to reject the formula "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh." See L. Duchesne, *L'Église au VIe siècle*, 61-63. It is also possible that they addressed the issue of grace and predestination wishing to achieve an *imitatio Cyrilli*: Cyril of Alexandria himself had accused Nestorius in his correspondence with pope Celestine of having provided support to Pelagians; the Pelagian issue was thus incorporated in the Nestorian controversy, and it may have been this association that appealed to the Scythian monks. See also D.R. Maxwell, *Christology and Grace in the Sixth-Century Latin West: The Theopaschite Controversy* (Ph.D. dissertation, 2003, University of Notre Dame, IN; retrieved 03/09/2005; accessed at Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database (Publication No ATT 3073506)).
[551] *Coll. Avellana* 224, 3, 685. Emphasis mine.
[552] *Ibid.*, 224, 4, 685-686 indicates that Victor professed strict Chalcedonian beliefs.
[553] *Ibid.*, 224, 4, 686.

"These words raised discontent [i.e., the comment of the legates]. But who can know, beside he who knows the hearts, whether Victor said these things sincerely or deceitfully?"[554] The papal legates had, it seems, suspicions not only about the Scythians, but also about those Constantinopolitans who seemed to profess the same values as they did, such as Victor. This sense of uncertainty points to the fact that the reception of the legates in the capital was probably not as warm as they had initially perceived it to be. It also appears that, having to accommodate various interests, the authorities in the capital were not always able or willing to endorse the legates' involvement in Constantinopolitan affairs.

As the days passed, the legates became more and more suspicious about the Theopaschite issue. The same relation of Dioscorus to Hormisdas ascribes this to the fact that they were excluded from another important gathering:

> Afterwards, the noble *magister militum* Vitalian summoned the aforementioned Victor [for a meeting] with him and with the bishop of Constantinople. They talked to him. We do not know what they agreed on. After this Victor did not come to [see] us anymore, and the scope [of the meeting] was not revealed [to us].[555]

It appears that Vitalian purposely bypassed the papal legates on this occasion, realizing perhaps that the legates could not be stirred in the direction desired by him, and wishing probably to prevent the conflict from unraveling any further.

Another meeting is mentioned by the papal legates, this time convened by the emperor, between Vitalian, bishop Paternus of Tomi, the Scythian monks, and the papal legates. Vitalian and Paternus were apparently reconciled on this occasion. The terms of the reconciliation between Vitalian and Paternus are unknown. It is certain, however, that Vitalian did not abandon the cause of the Scythian monks, meaning that the reconciliation

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[554] *Coll. Avellana* 224, 5, 686.
[555] *Ibid.*, 224, 6-7, 686.

did not involve the rejection of the Theopaschite formula by Vitalian. It is rather likely that Paternus accepted terms that suited Vitalian, and approved the "one of the Trinity."

The Scythian monks refused to participate in this meeting, and left for Rome, in the hope that they could obtain approval for their initiative from pope Hormisdas.[556]

1.1.4. The Scythians go to Rome: an embroilment of character references

Upon the monks' departure for Rome, Vitalian entrusted Paulinus, a *defensor ecclesiae*, with a letter commending the monks to pope Hormisdas, not extant.[557] E. Schwartz has argued that it was in fact Vitalian who convinced the monks to head for Rome.[558] Although this affirmation cannot be supported, a more moderate hypothesis can be formulated: if the Scythian monks were well received in Rome at the end of July / beginning of August 519, and if the *Libellus fidei* was proclaimed orthodox by the pope, as the title of the *Libellus* suggests, this was probably due to a large extent to Vitalian's letter.

This highly positive commendation of the monks had as its counterpart the reports of the papal legates. On June 29, 519, two letters were sent by the legates to pope Hormisdas, both of them extremely unfavorable to the Scythians.[559] The legates advised against the modification of the canon of orthodoxy according to the proposal of the monks. The "unus de Trinitate" was presented as a *novitas*: if accepted, "it would be worse than what happened through Eutyches. It is enough that the Church was held back by Eutyches for sixty years, up to now."[560]

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[556] *Coll. Avellana* 217, 8, 678. According to the papal legates, the monks refused to take part in this meeting because they did not want peace. It is also mentioned that the monks left for Rome furtively.
[557] This letter was not preserved. Its existence can be deduced from an affirmation in a letter of Justinian (*Coll. Avellana* 191, 648).
[558] E. Schwartz, *Praefatio*, viii: "one cannot doubt that Vitalian was the author of this decision."
[559] *Coll. Avellana* 216, 675-676, 217, 677-679.
[560] *Ibid.*, 217, 9, 678-9.

This unfavorable report was accompanied by a similarly disapproving letter from Justinian.[561] Justinian described the monks as people "who are more zealous about [creating] conflict than they are about the charity and peace of God [...]; since the idle talk of those who haste to introduce novelties in the church appears to rouse the crowds everywhere."[562]

Only a few days later, however, Justinian addressed two more letters to Hormisdas, both of them commending the monks, one through Paulinus,[563] along with Vitalian's positive letter, and one *per fratem proemptoris*, in the beginning of July.[564] The latter Justinian sent through a fast courier and intended to arrive in Rome before his disparaging letter, which he had sent on June 29 through Eulogius. Here, in an apparently neutral tone, Justinian tells the pope that he should do "what brings peace and unity in the holy churches;"[565] at the same time, he demands that the monks be given an answer as soon as possible and that they be sent back to Constantinople ("we request that, if it is possible, you send back to us Ioannes and Leontius after offering a quick answer and giving satisfactory insurance to the blessed monks").[566]

E. Schwartz has argued that all these letters conceal specific influences exerted on Justinian: the first letter was written under the influence of Dioscorus, the papal legate, and the following two were influenced by Vitalian, whose position Justinian embraced because

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[561] *Coll. Avellana* 187, 644-5.
[562] *Ibid.*, 187, 2-3, 644: "[some monks] who are more preoccupied with contention than with charity and the peace of God [...]; and the idle talk of those who hurry to introduce new things in the church seems to stir up the masses in every place."
[563] This letter was not preserved; it is mentioned however in *Coll. Avellana* 191, 648-9.
[564] *Ibid.*, 191, 648-9. The messenger appears in this edition as "per fratrem Proemptoris." Proemptor is not attested as a proper noun. The noun "proemptor" is attested in Cassiodorus, *Variarum libri XII* 2, 30, 2; it is translated by A. Blaise as "celui qui achète d'avance le tout" (Blaise patristic, Database of Latin Dictionaries, accessed at http://clt.brepolis.net/dld). Minuscule is probably the correct version here.
[565] *Coll. Avellana* 191, 1-2, 648: "Your Beatitude should do what would grant peace and harmony to the holy churches."
[566] *Ibid.*, 191, 3, 648: "We request that – if possible – you send back to us Ioannes and Leontius, after having provided a very quick response and after having given satisfaction to the pious monks."

he did not dare to oppose him overtly at this stage.[567] While this may well be true, other explanations appear just as pertinent.

As seen above, the monks refused to participate in a meeting organized by the emperor with the intention of settling their conflict with bishop Paternus of Tomi, and, what is more, decided that they could not win approval for their cause in Constantinople and left for Rome. It is highly possible that this attitude angered Justinian who, as a result, wrote the disparaging letter of 29 June to pope Hormisdas.

Justinian's anger may have also extended outside of the Theopaschite controversy. It was perhaps in this context that the ordination of Paul the Jew in Antioch, probably in the course of June 519, ought to be interpreted as well. Disenchanted with the neo-Chalcedonians, despite an initial sentiment that their proposal could promote peace, the court in Constantinople eventually disregarded the group of Oriental neo-Chalcedonians which, as seen above, was probably trying to influence the ordination (and which was associated with the Scythian monks), and ordained to the see of Antioch a strict Chalcedonian.[568]

Beyond the momentary anger expressed in the letter of 29 June 519, Justinian may have been genuinely well disposed to the propositions of the Scythian monks. His subsequent attitude, as well as the numerous attempts at reconciling the Scythians with their adversaries in Constantinople before the end of June 519, points in this direction. Returning to better feelings soon after his disparaging letter, Justinian decided to support the Scythian proposition, perhaps on account of the potential he saw in it for bringing back to the Imperial Church groups that were otherwise not willing to accept Chalcedon.

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[567] E. Schwartz, *Praefatio*, viii. See also Fr. Glorie, *Prolegomena*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85A, xxiii-xli, here xxix.

[568] This turned out to be a decision with bad consequences for the peace of the Church. On the ordination and office of Paul the Jew, see discussion in V. Menze, *The Making of a Church: The Syrian Orthodox in the Shadow of Byzantium and the Papacy*, 40-54.

The two preserved letters written by Justinian to pope Hormisdas, although irreconcilable in terms of their presentation of the Scythian monks, have in common two interesting elements: first, the idea that the monks ought to be sent back to Constantinople at once; secondly, that the letters' respective recommendations regarding the manner in which the pope ought to treat the monks were crucial to preserving the peace of the Church.[569] These common themes indicate that, beyond the positive or negative assessment of the Scythians adopted in the two letters, Justinian saw the Theopaschite controversy as an internal matter that could not have been properly understood in Rome, and that needed to be settled in Constantinople.

The fact that the monks left for Rome was in itself a sufficient reason to attract Justinian's resentment; one need not postulate that he was convinced to write his first letter by the papal legates. Soon thereafter, however, Justinian may have realized that, if the pope rejected the proposition of the Scythian monks, that decision would have needed to be upheld in the East in order for the newly established peace to be maintained. Given the popularity of the Theopaschite phrase in the East – of which Justinian was certainly aware – the court in Constantinople realized that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to impose such a decision in the East. His second and third letters, commending the monks and trying to receive approval from pope Hormisdas for the Scythian desiderata, may have followed this realization.

[569] I.e., Justinian wrote in his letter of June 29 (*Coll. Avellana* 187, 2, 644) that the propositions of the monks endangered the peace; in his subsequent letters he wrote that in order for the peace to be preserved a positive response ought to be given to the monks (*Ibid.*, 191, 3, 648).

1.2. In Rome

In his *Life of Severus*, Zacharias Scholasticus mentioned that, as a result of the conflict over the enlarged Trisagion in Constantinople in 511, certain "Nestorians," i.e., Chalcedonians, "were preparing to take this hymn to Rome."[570] *Collectio Avellana* preserves a letter sent to Rome toward the end of 517 from Syria II in which a group of Chalcedonian monks complained against the oppression exerted against them by anti-Chalcedonians and requested assistance for their cause from pope Hormisdas after they had not been able to find understanding in Constantinople.[571]

These two instances show that the Scythians were not the only group of monks to appeal to the pope in Rome in the beginning of the sixth century, after an initial unsuccessful appeal in Constantinople, and, moreover, that they were not even the first to have the initiative to take a Theopaschite phrase for approval in Rome.

There is no further evidence regarding the Chalcedonians who, according to Zacharias, intended to take the Theopaschite phrase to Rome in 511-512. In the case of the Syrians mentioned in the *Collectio Avellana*, the reply of the pope was non-committal ("this hardship of the Church, O brothers, is not new, and yet it grows strong while it is being humiliated, and it is enriched through those toils which are thought to wear it down.").[572] In the case of the Scythians, although more involved, the pope was comparably elusive in his attitude.

[570] Zacharias Scholasticus, *Vie de Sévère*, ed. and tr. M.-A. Kugener, Patrologia Orientalis 2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907), 114-5.
[571] *Coll. Avellana* 139, 565-571.
[572] *Ibid.*, 140, 3, 572.

He was ostensibly favorable to the Scythians upon their arrival.[573] It appears that he accepted the Scythian *Libellus fidei* (The same that had been presented to the papal legates in Constantinople) and declared its content orthodox. What happened thereafter is more difficult to reconstruct. The conflicting information preserved in contemporary papal letters is responsible to a large extent for this difficulty. In a letter sent to Justinian on 2 September 519, Hormisdas reminded the future emperor of the disparaging letter he had sent to Rome along with the letter of the papal legates at the end of June, and explained that, unable to understand the situation and to judge the allegations of the Scythians, he was awaiting the return of the legates for a more informed judgment.[574] He also requested that Victor, the Constantinopolitan deacon accused by the Scythians, be sent to Constantinople.[575] In another letter addressed to Justinian on the same date (2 September), Hormisdas claimed that he in fact wanted to send the monks to Constantinople, but that they refused to return on account of their fear of the "traps set for them along the road."[576] In a letter sent to the papal legates at the same time, Hormisdas wrote that he wanted to let the Constantinopolitan bishop decide the whole matter.[577]

Without enough information on the context in which the Theopaschite controversy had arisen, Hormisdas probably found it difficult to take a quick and definitive decision regarding the monks, and acted with hesitation. On the one hand, the Scythians emphatically

[573] Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae* 6, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85A, 123-153, here 132.
[574] *Coll. Avellana* 189, 1-2, 646-7.
[575] *Ibid.*, 189, 3, 647. As in other cases (e.g., Dorotheus of Thessalonica), the emperor refused to send Victor to Rome. Alongside other indications, this points to the fact that, despite having accepted a reconciliation on Roman terms, the court in Constantinople wished to retain control over internal matters, and, not unlikely, was willing to deal with these conflict situations in a more relaxed manner than Rome.
[576] *Ibid.*, 190, 3, 647: "insidias in itinere paratas."
[577] This can be deduced from the introductory passage of *Coll. Avellana* 224, 1, 685, the reply letter of the legates ("litteras beatitudinis vestrae suscepimus, in quibus significastis intentionem monachorum Scythicorum et quomodo visum fuerat apostolatui vestro episcopo Constantinopolitano causam delegare.")

professed themselves as supporters and defenders of Chalcedon, and had on their side Dionysius Exiguus,[578] a native of Scythia Minor with influence in Rome, who had received his baptism in Scythia,[579] had perhaps spent some time in Constantinople,[580] and had then moved to the West sometime after 496.[581] It is possible that the knowledge that they would benefit from Dionysius' support had in fact contributed to the Scythian monks' decision to bring their proposal for arbitration in Rome. Moreover, letters from important characters in Constantinople, namely Vitalian and Justinian, recommended them. All this played in their favour.

On the other hand, the unfavorable reports sent from Constantinople concerning them, as well as the problematic character of the formula they were trying to have sanctioned, played against their credibility in Rome.

Textual evidence coming from the *Collectio Avellana* shows that, toward the end of 519, the Scythians were regarded in Rome with progressively growing suspicion: in a letter addressed to the papal legates in Constantinople, Hormisdas noted that the monks had

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[578] Dionysius Exiguus provided the monks with Latin translations of Greek texts; he sent to them, upon their request, translations from Cyril of Alexandria. Dionysius Exiguus, *Preface to Ioannes and Leontius* 3, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85, ed. S. Gennaro and Fr. Glorie (Turnhout: Brepols, 1972), 55-56, here 56: "Et quoniam singulari studio praefati doctoris nosse desideratis opuscula, tribuente Christo deo nostro, quaecumque ex his potuero, transferre curabo." It is possible that the monks' opponents were using Cyril to argue against them, and this subsequently stirred their interest in the works of the Alexandrian. Aware of the stakes of the controversy in which the Scythians were involved, Dionysius translated for them Cyril's *First* and *Second Letters to Succensus*, texts in which Cyril departed from the two-nature Christology of the Formula of Reunion of 433 and defended the one-nature Christology, including the formula "one incarnate nature of God the Word."
[579] See Dionysius' *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, 1, 55.
[580] His knowledge of the Greek canons, his familiarity with Greek authors, as well as his desire to bridge the East and the West through his translations point in this direction.
[581] In the *Praefatio ad Iulianum presbyterum in Collectionem Decretorum Romanorum Pontificum* 3, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85, 45-47, here 45, Dionysius pays homage to pope Gelasius, saying that he had never met him in person, meaning, with some probability, that he arrived in Rome after Gelasius' death: "nos, qui eum praesentia corporali non vidimus." Judging by his close ties with pope Hormisdas (to whom one of his prefaces is addressed – the preface to the translation of the Greek canons), it was probably because he was not yet in Rome that Dionysius had not had a chance to meet Gelasius in person. This means that Dionysius probably arrived in Rome after 496.

furtively tried to leave Rome, apparently in order to avoid a meeting with the legates. The pope's reaction to this materialized in an acutely negative attitude toward the monks: "and we had them watched more attentively [...], so that, at the moment when, with the help of God, you arrive, their error be corrected through rational exhortations."[582]

Evidence regarding the opposition the monks encountered in Rome is preserved in other sources as well. A letter sent by the presbyter Trifolius to senator Faustus as an answer to the latter's inquiry on whether or not the Scythian monks were in line with the *doctrina patrum* severely attacked the monks for their position, characterizing their faith as pan-heretical:

> What else does it mean saying 'One of the Trinity suffered' if not showing [that there is] One other from the Trinity, impassible, as Arius [claims]. And what else does it mean saying 'one son from the Trinity suffered in the flesh' if not showing [that there is] another one, impassible, as Nestorius [has it]. But the Roman Apostolic See never allowed one syllable, or even one letter, to be added to or to be removed from the faith of the Council of Chalcedon.[583]

In addition to these accusations of heresy, another *topos* comes up frequently in this letter, namely the allegation that they were trying to introduce a novelty in the faith.

In contrast to all this, the imperial attitude toward the Scythians and the Theopaschite phrase became more and more positive. In October 519 Justinian was asking for Hormisdas' opinion regarding the "one of the Trinity," and he was explaining in a conciliatory manner that "the words appear to create dissenssion, but the meaning is proven to be one and the same among catholics."[584]

[582] *Coll. Avellana* 227, 6, 693.
[583] *Epistula Trifolii* 8-9, 141. The conjunction of the two associations reminds of a more general tendency of the period, consisting of attributing all known heretical doctrines to someone who was identified as the enemy.
[584] *Coll. Avellana* 188, 2, 646.

In January 520 emperor Justin announced in Rome that petitions had been brought to Constantinople from various Eastern provinces concerning the *unus de trinitate*.[585] Letters on this subject continued to arrive in Rome throughout 520, and Justinian, in an attempt to make the formula more palatable in Rome, used a quote from Augustine as supporting evidence, and interpreted the *unus* as meaning *una de Trinitate persona* (in July 520 and September 520).[586]

For the moment, this lobbying remained fruitless. The pope's final answer to this issue came after a long delay, and when the appeals from Constantinople had already ceased. In a letter of March 521 the pope offered a long doctrinal exposition which, not surprisingly concluded that the decisions taken at Chalcedon and the letters of pope Leo were sufficient to preserve orthodoxy.[587]

The monks returned to Constantinople at the end of the summer of 520. The last part of their stay in Rome was marked by a series of turbulent events that presumably followed the decision of the pope (by Scythian accounts) or the determination of the Roman people (by Roman accounts) to send them away from Rome.

In a letter addressed soon after the monks' departure to the African bishop Possessor, residing in Constantinople at that time, pope Hormisdas gave a most negative description of the Scythian monks and their intentions. Just like Trifolius in the above cited letter to senator Faustus, Hormisdas accused the monks of trying to alter the faith through novelties (*contemptores auctoritatum veterum, novarum cupidi quaestionum*).[588] He also pointed to the

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[585] See *Coll. Avellana* 181, 636-637. For the possible text of the petition, see *Ibid.* 232a, 703-707.
[586] According to Grillmeier (*CCT* II, 2, 324), this was an attempt by Justinian to win over the papal legates in Constantinople. It was probably in this context that Maxentius wrote his *Dialogus contra Nestorianos* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85A, 51-110).
[587] *Coll. Avellana* 236, 716-722.
[588] Pope Hormisdas, *Epistula Papae Hormisdae ad Possessorem episcopum Africae* 8, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85A, 115-121, here 117.

arrogance of the monks, who "thought that the belief of both parts of the world ought to follow their judgment."[589] According to the same papal letter, the monks took their plea to the forum in Rome (judging by the gravity of this incident, one can conclude that it happened very close to the end of the monks' stay in Rome), and, had it not been for the "steadfastness of the faithful people,"[590] they would have corrupted the faith. The people of Rome, the pope wrote, forced the monks out of the city.[591]

Angered by the negative characterization contained in this letter, Maxentius countered it with a response in which he refuted the pope's accusations and gave his own version of what happened during the monks' stay in Rome. According to Maxentius, the pope received the proposal of the monks well in the beginning, and subsequently was in communion with them for fourteen months.[592] Hearing that his legate Dioscorus had rejected the Theopaschite phrase, the pope purportedly said: "Let Dioscorus be drowned in the sea if he does not confess that Christ the Son of God, who suffered for us in the flesh, is one of the holy and undivided Trinity."[593] The pope's change of attitude (lest perchance the letter to Possessor was a forgery, as Maxentius disputatiously claimed)[594] may have been due to the negative influence of Dioscorus.[595]

In response to the pope's accusation that the monks tried to stir tumult in Rome by taking their plea to the forum, Maxentius claimed that they had simply sought protection. After they became aware that the pope was planning to expel them from Rome before the arrival of Dioscorus, in a desire to protect the latter from the accusations of heresy that the

[589] Pope Hormisdas, *Epistula Papae Hormisdae*, 117.
[590] *Ibid.* 9, 118.
[591] *Ibid.* 9, 118.
[592] Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae* 6, 132.
[593] *Ibid.*, 6, 132.
[594] "For the bishop of Rome could not lie so openly," Maxentius says (*Ibid.*, 9, 138).
[595] "a memorato Dioscoro postea depravatus," *Ibid.*, 6, 132.

Scythians would have otherwise laid against him, they addressed themselves to the people of Rome.[596] As they were being forced to leave the city, they tried to defend themselves in public places in order to avoid future accusations that they had left the city furtively. They also tried to request an *audientia* that had been promised them.[597] Maxentius denies that it was the people of Rome who forced the Scythians to leave; rather, he affirmed, it was *defensores ecclesiae*, charged with this task by the pope. The people of Rome, even though not helping the Scythians in any concrete manner, had not opposed them.

The monks left Rome in August 520, and went back to Constantinople. Not much is known about their actions after this date. Their appeals in Constantinople and Rome having remained without the desired results, they addressed themselves to the African bishops exiled in Sardinia. As A. Grillmeier has remarked, the letter sent to the Africans is very similar in content to the earlier *Libellus fidei*.[598]

The Scythians had hoped that they would find understanding in Rome, but the embroilment regarding the correct interpretation (and hence orthodoxy) of their proposition became instead more complicated, as Trifolius' letter demonstrates. "*Unus de trinitate filius*" could be interpreted, as this author argued, as "one son from a trinity of sons," an obvious misinterpretation of the Scythians' beliefs. The other heretical interpretation Trifolius gives to the formula is this: "*unus de trinitate filius* suffered" implies that another son from the Trinity did not suffer, in agreement with Nestorius. Trifolius in fact proceeded to show that the Theopaschite formula was in fact leading to many of the condemned heresies, and that the Scythians were both Eutychian and Nestorian in their use of the *unus de trinitate*.[599]

[596] Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae* 9, 138-9
[597] *Ibid.* 9, 139.
[598] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 2, 326-7.
[599] *Epistula Trifolii* 5, 139; see also 8-9. 141.

While faulty with regard to its doctrinal argumentation, Trifolius' view was probably widely approved of in Rome. This was due to some extent to the historical argument used to reinforce it: the proposal of the Scythians could not have been orthodox since the Council of Chalcedon had rejected a similar proposal made by Dorotheus and Carosus.[600] Given this, almost anything the Scythians could have come up with could be dismissed as unconvincing. Thus, with regard to the evidence from fathers that the Scythians were bringing to support their formula, Trifolius concluded: "If something is found in the sayings of the holy fathers which does not agree with the holy letters and with the definition of the Council of Chalcedon, it is clear that it has been forged by heretics. Wickedness is always rejected, but it never disappears."[601]

In this context, the fact that the Scythians claimed to have been in communion with Rome at the time of the Acacian schism did little to redeem them.[602] Even the support of influential persons, which the Scythians had while in Rome, could not help them sufficiently to counter the suspicions raised by this accusation.

2. Origins of the Theopaschite controversy

2.1. The Scythian heritage

Just as the origins of the *Henoticon* ought to be interpreted, as was shown in the second chapter of this study, within the immediate context of its composition, so the Theopaschite controversy ought first to be viewed in relation to the regional context of Scythia Minor. This

[600] *Epistula Trifolii* 5, 139. This was in fact not true. It was only in the Definition that Chalcedon condemned an otherwise generally rejected form of Theopaschite discourse, namely those who believe "that the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible" (*The Acts*, vol. 2, 203).
[601] *Epistula Trifolii* 8, 140.
[602] Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae* I, 8, 137: "Monachi autem, quos inique laceras, in tantum ab hoc crimine alieni sunt, ut numquam per dei gratiam catholica communione discesserint, licet ad tempus, ob nonnulla scandala in Orientis partibus orta, Occidentalibus ecclesiis communicaverint."

context is rather difficult to reconstruct due to the scarcity of information preserved in contemporary sources.

Very little indeed survives even on the more general topic of ecclesiastical history in Scythia Minor. However, to the extent that it can be reconstructed and understood, this history provides valuable elements for the interpretation of the sixth-century Theopaschite controversy.

The first thing to be noted is the information that the controversy originated in a regional conflict between the monks and Paternus, the bishop of Tomi in Scythia Minor.[603] As I argue further in this chapter, both the monks and Paternus may have been residing in Constantinople at the time when the conflict arose (probably very soon after Anastasius I's death).[604] Yet it is very likely that the context summarized below formed the background of the Theopaschite controversy.

While a firm Christological orientation of Scythia Minor in the fifth century cannot be established, there is evidence that the province tilted toward strict Cyrillianism from a very early period. A representative of Scythia Minor, bishop Timothy of Tomi, was present at the First Council of Ephesus in 431. On this occasion, while the other bishops from the Danubian regions refused to sign the condemnation of Nestorius for heresy, Timothy did sign.[605] In itself, this can be considered a circumstantial reaction on the part of Timothy rather than the expression of a clearly shaped Christological position. A passing remark made

[603] *Coll. Avellana* 218, 6, 678.
[604] Even though Dionysius Exiguus refers to the regional character of the conflict, this does not mean that the monks came to Constantinople at the time when the conflict broke out. It is quite possible, however, that, unable perhaps to speak good Greek, the monks, even though residing in Constantinople long term, were not fully integrated in the Constantinopolitan milieu.
[605] See J. Zeiller, *Les Origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1918), 353-357. Dorotheus, bishop of Marcianopolis and metropolitan of Moesia Inferior, was deeply involved in defending Nestorius, being one of Cyril's principal direct adversaries. For more detail on Dorotheus, see J.A. McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, 37-38 and 59-60.

by Alexander of Hierapolis in a letter sent to Theodoret of Cyrrhus allows us to hypothesize that Timothy of Tomi may have indeed been a strict Cyrillian, and may even have used Theopaschite discourse. According to Alexander, "the entire Pontic region confesses that God is passible."[606] While this reference may more restrictively refer to the province Pontus, south of the Black Sea, between Bithynia and Armenia, it could also more generally refer to the Black Sea region, including Scythia Minor. Moreover, a subsequent mention of Timothy (summarized below), this time during the Council of Chalcedon, reinforces the idea that Timothy embraced the Council of Ephesus and strict Cyrillianism wholeheartedly, and that he may have supported the use of Theopaschite language.

The monk Carosus who, alongside Dorotheus and other monks, proposed the introduction of the Theopaschite phrase *unus de Trinitate passus est carne* in the doctrinal canon during the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon, affirmed that he would not accept any formulation of faith beyond the creed of Nicaea, because **this is what Timothy of Tomi, who baptized him, had taught him.**[607] Thus Carosus, a supporter of the Theopaschite phrase at Chalcedon, professes that Timothy of Tomi had taught him how to preserve the orthodox faith. This is the first context (and a very early one) in which the formula *unus de Trinitate passus est carne* comes up in relation with the Scythians. The same monk who professed Timothy's authority also requested the sanction of the Theopaschite formula. It is moreover interesting that the monk invoked the name of the bishop of Tomi in a large gathering of bishops, implying that Timothy was a well-known father, and one known outside the borders of Scythia.[608]

[606] *Coll. Casinensis* 255, 187.
[607] *The Acts*, vol. 2, 159.
[608] A testimony of Dionysius Exiguus confirms that Scythia had produced outstanding models, and justifies Carosus' expectation that the fathers of Chalcedon would be impressed with his credentials when he mentioned

Theotimus of Tomi, the Scythian bishop who responded to emperor Leo I's *Codex Encyclicus* in 457/8, while not using the formula *unus de Trinitate passus est carne*, adopted a position that was coherent with the abovementioned episode at Chalcedon, and anticipated the Scythian monks' neo-Chalcedonianism.

Theotimus' response letter reads: *cognoscat vestra serenitas quoniam nihil amplius, nihil minus quam quae in *** Epheseno concilio a sanctis patribus* etc.[609] In the margin, E. Schwartz, the editor, noted: *lacunam iudicavi supplendo, ut sensus restituatur* "Calchedonensi sicut in Nicaeno et centum quinquaginta et in."[610] E. Schwartz therefore interpreted this response letter as endorsing the Council of Chalcedon (missing from the text because of a lacuna, he believed) for being, in W.H.C. Frend's terminolog, a "disciplinary synod."[611]

However, the extant manuscripts (Vindobonensis 397 and Parisinus Latinus 12098) contain no indication that a deletion or another type of alteration occurred in the original text, to allow for such reconstruction. According to the extant text, Theotimus acknowledged "nothing more and nothing less than what was defined by the holy fathers in the Council of Ephesus." There is no mention in his response of the Council of Chalcedon, and Schwartz's reconstruction is based on nothing more than editorial expectation.

As has been seen in the first chapter of this dissertation, there exist several response letters in the *Collectio Sangermanensis* that express a position that is at most neo-, and possibly even anti-Chalcedonian. If one rejects Schwartz's conjecture (unsupported, as

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Timothy of Tomi as the one who had taught him to preserve orthodoxy by not confessing anything beyond the creed of Nicaea (Dionysius, *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, 1-2, 55).

609 *Coll. Sangermanensis* 18, 31.

610 *Ibid.*, 18, 31, fn. 23.

611 W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of The Monophysite Movement*, 162. Chalcedon is to be sanctioned, as being in conformity with Nicea, Constantinople and Ephesus.

already mentioned, by the manuscript tradition), Theotimus of Tomi's response fits in this category, and surpasses the hesitation about Chalcedon that one can discern in any of the other letters preserved in the *Sangermanensis*.

The presence of Ephesus alone in his response letter could mean, when spelled out: "I accept only the faith of Nicaea, and I embrace Ephesus as the council that has established that no further creed ought to be formulated; because of this latter interdiction, Chalcedon is not a legitimate council." This is in fact what the First Council of Ephesus tends to stand for in the majority of post-Chalcedonian texts in the anti-Chalcedonian tradition. This position, if it is indeed what Theotimus wished to express, indicates that the bishop of Tomi would not have had trouble accepting the Theopaschite formula.

Aside from the textual evidence, one can draw certain conclusions about the possible Christological orientation of Scythia Minor in the late fifth century from material culture. Judging by the archaeological evidence, a complex program of building and rebuilding was conducted in Scythia at the time of Anastasius I's reign.[612] It is therefore quite possible that the province, although remaining in communion with Rome at the time of the Acacian schism,[613] pledged loyalty to Anastasius' religious politics, accepting, at the very least, the terms of the *Henoticon*. Given the Scythian background in Christology presented above, such loyalty would not be at all surprising, and moreover, it would shed some light on the controversy in which the Scythians were involved in 519-520.

An archaeological finding confirms the fact that Paternus, the bishop accused of heresy by the Scythian monks in 519, may have already been in office during the reign of

[612] For a summary of this evidence, see F.K. Haarer, *Anastasius I*, 109-114.
[613] See Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae* 8, 137: "Monachos autem, quos inique laceras, in tantum ab hoc crimine alieni sunt, ut **numquam per dei gratiam catholica communione discesserint, licet ad tempus, ob nonnulla scandala in Orientis partibus orta, Occidentalibus ecclesiis communicaverint.**" Emphasis mine.

Anastasius.[614] It is quite possible that, until the accession of Justin I, Paternus was, like the monks in his province, at least favorable or permissive, if not straightforwardly supportive of the anti-/neo-Chalcedonian cause, and probably endorsed the Theopaschite formula.[615] At the time of the dissensions that accompanied Justin's accession, Paternus may have encouraged the changes brought about by the implementation of Hormisdas' *Libellus*, to the disappointment of the monks from his province who felt that, in this way, Paternus abandoned the cause of orthodoxy. It was perhaps in this context that the monks took up the "one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" as a catchphrase in order to preserve to some extent the tenor of their previous standard of orthodoxy.

2.2. The Constantinopolitan influence

While it was not uncommon that one would travel to Constantinople to report a regional conflict and obtain mediation,[616] it is possible that the Scythian monks did not *travel* to Constantinople in 518/9 in order to present their discontent, but that they had been *residing* in Constantinople for a certain amount of time when the controversy broke out. V. Schurr has argued that the monks came to Constantinople together with Vitalian, upon Justin I's

[614] A silver disk belonging to Paternus of Tomi bears the inscription "D(ominus) N(oster) ANASTASIUS P(ius) AUG(ustus)." See F. Haarer, *Anastasius I*, 111. See also *Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România* (Greek and Latin Inscriptions from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Century Discovered on the Territory of Romania), ed. E. Popescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1976), 97.

[615] A letter addressed by Simeon the presbyter to Samuel the presbyter and archimandrite (preserved by *Zacharias* VII, 8, 171-178) gives substance to the idea that Anastasius, beyond his approval for the Theopaschite Trisagion (analyzed in the previous chapter), used the Theopaschite formula "one of the Trinity was crucified" in public confessions. It is very possible that, even though not sanctioned by legislation, the Theopaschite formula was indeed widely confessed in the East, at least toward the end of Anastasius' reign.

[616] See, for example, the complaint of the Chalcedonian monks and archimandrites from Syria II toward the end of 517, who accused the anti-Chalcedonians of killing 350 monks and wounding others (*Coll. Avellana* 139, 565-571).

accession in the summer of 518.[617] Whether with Vitalian or not, it is commonly accepted that the monks came to Constantinople in the second half of 518.

It is however plausible that the monks were present in Constantinople before this date. As the barbarian attacks intensified in the Danubian provinces, many people took refuge in Constantinople. B. Croke has amply described the case of the Illyrians present in the capital at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century (to this group Justin and Justinian belonged as well).[618] It is quite likely that the Scythians did not come from Scythia Minor to the capital on the occasion of the controversy. It is possible that they were already in the capital toward the end of the fifth century, and that they were familiar with the recent course of events taking place in the capital.

Collectio Berolinensis contains a letter sent by pope Felix III (483-492) to a bishop Vetranio,[619] who, judging by internal evidence, was residing in Constantinople. In the letter, Felix was asking Vetranio to plead for the condemnation of Acacius with the emperor. E. Schwartz has suggested that Vetranio may have been of Illyrian origin,[620] probably based on the fact that the homonym emperor (350) held the office of *magister peditum* in Illyricum. However, aside from emperor Vetranio, the name is rare, and the only other bishop bearing this name came from Tomi, in Scythia Minor, in the fourth century.[621] It is therefore possible that the addressee of pope Felix was a Scythian bishop residing in Constantinople. Scythian monks may similarly have been residing in Constantinople for various periods of time even at the time of Zeno's reign.

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[617] V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, 155 and fn. 168, 155.
[618] B. Croke, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001, 78-103.
[619] E. Schwartz, *PS* 79-81, *Coll. Berolinensis* 31.
[620] *Ibid.*, fn. 1, 213.
[621] Sozomenus, *Ecclesiastical History* VI, 21, 4-7, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 50, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hansen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960), 263-264.

A. Grillmeier asserted that the Scythian monks had developed their understanding of the Theopaschite formula in the capital, but did not bring arguments to support this claim. Grillmeier also maintained that the defense of the concept Theotokos by the Scythian monks was in fact directed against the Acoimetae monks in Constantinople. [622]

Even though Grillmeier does not go beyond the intuitive level in substantiating these claims, there exists nevertheless evidence that lends them plausibility. Dionysius Exiguus' *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium*, the introduction to the translation of Cyril's *Letters to Succensus*, which he made for the benefit of the Scythian monks, contains in its first half an interesting reference to the political factors which played a role in the development of the Theopaschite controversy. A fragment from this *Praefatio*[623] identifies the opponents of the monks as being those who, in a "changing faith" and "despicable fickleness with regard to religion," had changed their beliefs and teachings "according to the will of the rulers," because they put the preoccupation for the present above divine things.[624] The reference is ambiguous. The word *principes* refers, with high probability, to the secular authorities. In the same *Praefatio*, Dionysius writes that, contrary to those who had "adapted" their faith to the will of the rulers, the monks were struggling *pro integritate fidei*, in the path of their lawful ancestors.[625]

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[622] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 2, 320.

[623] Dionysius Exiguus, *Praefatio ad Ioannem et Leontium* 2, 55, "Horum studia vestra sanctitas aemulata pro integritate fidei summis viribus elaborat, inertiam quorundarum varietatemque despiciens, qui utilitatem praesentium rebus caelestis anteponunt – quorum nos flexa fides et erga divinum cultum foeda mobilitas valde maestificat - , qui pro voluptatibus principum suas sententias plerumque commutant – quasi divina religio humanis umquam possit altercationibus immutari, cum dominicae promissionis ex apostolica traditione fixa maneat et inconcussa soliditas."

[624] *Ibid.*, 2, 55.

[625] See *Ibid.*, 2, 55.

While I have previously interpreted this fragment as referring to conditions in Scythia Minor,[626] the scarcity of information in fact prevents one from clarifying and solidly confirming this hypothesis. Moreover, it is quite possible that this fragment refers to the situation in Constantinople, and that Dionysius characterizes here those who oversaw the implementation of Hormisdas' *Libellus* in 518, and who were trying to impose a strict Diophysite interpretation of Chalcedon, excluding elements, such the Theopaschite phrase, that had probably become widely accepted in Constantinople toward the end of Anastasius' reign.

Interestingly, the type of initiative promoted by the Scythians brings to mind another example of doctrinal compromise devised in Constantinople by Vigilius of Thapsus in the 470s.[627] Beyond their shared acceptance of Theopaschite language, moderately embraced by Vigilius and vigorously defended by the Scythians, and their common acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, there is also a common attempt at showing that there is perfect agreement between pope Leo and Cyril of Alexandria (even Cyril's *Anathemas*). A relevant passage from Maxentius' *Libellus fidei* cites a brief fragment from pope Leo to demonstrate that it is right to believe that the miracles and the suffering were of one and the same, and then corroborates the fragment from pope Leo with Cyril's twelfth *Anathema*:

> And therefore it is rightly believed that the miracles and suffering are of one and the same, of the Word of God incarnate and made man: for God is not one and the man another, but the same is God and man – according to that saying of the blessed pope Leo, who said: "The impassible God did not scorn becoming a passible man, and the immortal submitting himself to the laws of death." The blessed Cyril [was] in agreement with these [words], when he wrote against Nestorius: "If anyone does not confess that God the Word suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted

[626] See D.I. Viezure, *The Origin of the* Unus de Trinitate *Controversy: Textual, Contextual and Metatextual Considerations*, MA thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2003, 68-69.
[627] See Chapter 1.

> death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema."[628]

Vigilius of Thapsus had similarly tried to demonstrate that pope Leo's *Tome* was in agreement with Cyril's *Anathemas*.[629] Vigilius himself, in addition to showing that the *Tome* was in agreement with the *Anathemas*, had emphatically defended pope Leo's affirmation "*unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis*," arguing in fact that this statement itself was in agreement with Cyril of Alexandria's *Anathemas*. Given the commonality of language (Latin) and of place of temporary residence (Constantinople) between the Scythians and Vigilius, it is possible that the Scythians had come in contact with Vigilius' work, and had taken inspiration from it. Moreover, as their regions were heavily affected by barbarian occupation, their construction of heresy and orthodoxy was perhaps different than in other regions, and a penchant for compromise was more likely to appear as a valid alternative.

The text from the *Libellus fidei* quoted above reveals yet another influence, namely that of the *Henoticon*, indicating once again that the initiative of the Scythian monks probably had a Constantinopolitan component. The passage brings in (in a rephrased version) the words most commonly criticized from Leo's *Tome*, and alters them into a statement that was Christologically acceptable to a wider audience ("unius eiusdemque [...] creduntur esse mirabilia et passiones"). The same sentence is also present in the *Henoticon* ("For we declare to be of one being both the miracles and the sufferings which He endured voluntarily in the flesh.")[630] A further argument confirming this influence is represented by Maxentius' choice of words. While pope Leo's sentence in Latin uses the words "miracula" and "iniuriae" for

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[628] Maxentius, *Libellus fidei* 26, 21.
[629] See Chapter 1.
[630] *Evagrius* III, 15, 149.

"miracles" and "sufferings" respectively (a choice of words preserved by Vigilius of Thapsus, for example), Maxentius uses in the above passage the words "mirabilia" and "passiones." The latter of these choices, "passiones," betrays a Greek influence, perhaps that of the *Henoticon*, which translated the words used by pope Leo into Greek as "τά θαύματα" and "τά πάθη."[631] Translated into Greek in the *Henoticon* as *τά πάθη*, Leo's *iniuriae* was then re-translated from Greek into Latin by Maxentius with the word etymologically related to the Greek *πάθη*, namely *passiones*.

As the phrase "unius eiusdemque, dei verbi incarnati et hominis facti, creduntur esse mirabilia et passiones" could have been easily recognized at the time of the composition of the *Libellus fidei* as being a passage from the *Henoticon*, it was an extremely bold act on the part of the Scythians to present the papal legates with a document that appears to have taken inspiration from a text that had caused Rome great embarrassment. To the Scythian monks, however, who probably were in communion with both Rome and Constantinople at the time of the Acacian schism, trying to find a middle way by incorporating in their compromise solution elements from both parties' positions may have appeared to have the highest chance for success. Moreover, it is quite possible that the sentence in question had become so deeply rooted in the Constantinopolitan baggage of Christological statements that its insertion in the *Libellus fidei* was not intended to be in the least polemical.

If the monks indeed developed their position in Constantinople, it is probable that they had among their opponents the Acoimetae monks. Since the extant evidence relates that the monks had started their revolt against some of the bishops from their region,[632] it is impossible to establish whether the Acoimetae had been among their initial opponents.

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[631] See the *Henoticon* at no. 75 in E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 54.
[632] *Coll. Avellana* 218, 6, 678

However, it is almost certain that tensions did exist between the two groups of monks. The Acoimetae opposed Theopaschite discourse (they were the authors of the forged letters to Peter the Fuller, and were later condemned by Justinian because of their refusal to acknowledge the orthodoxy of the Theopaschite formula (533)), and had previously been, in all likelihood, opponents of the title "*Theotokos*."[633] Given these divergences in belief between the two groups of monks, the Acoimetae probably opposed actively the Scythian initiative in Constantinople.

2.3. An influence from the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem?

As has been demonstrated above, the position of the Scythian monks was at least partially built under Constantinopolitan influence. In addition to this, concomitant attempts at promoting the Theopaschite formula "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" originating in Antioch and Palestine raise the hypothesis of an influence from these regions.

V. Schurr made the argument of a Palestinian influence in his *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der "Skythischen Kontroversen."* Schurr tried to find parallels between the Christology of the leading Palestinian monastics, as outlined in Cyril of Scythopolis' *Life of Sabas* and *Life of Euthymius*, and the Christology of the Scythians.[634] However, Schurr based his arguments on little more than vague commonalities of doctrinal formulations.[635] To escape the fact that Cyril's works do not contain evidence that the Palestinians embraced the Theopaschite formula (in fact, it contains evidence to the contrary),[636] Schurr explained that

633 They had as their supporter Gennadius of Constantinople (458-471), who had opposed the introduction of "Theotokos" in the diptychs. See Theodore Lector exc. Vatoped. 55 ; E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431*, 175. For their condemnation, see *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.8, 16.
634 V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, 149-154.
635 *Ibid.*, fn. 157, 150. V. Schurr refers to those commonalities as "auffallenden Ideengemeinschaft" (153).
636 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas*, 117,20-118,10, 126-127.

it was from Proclus, a common source for the Palestinians and for the Scythians, that the latter took the formula.[637] The same scholar also pointed out that, given Vitalian's relationship with Flavian of Antioch, a connection between the Scythian monks and the Chalcedonians in Antioch is also plausible.[638]

More pertinently, in the preface to Philoxenus' *Letter to the Monks of Senun*, A. de Halleux discussed Philoxenus' affirmation that the Theopaschite phrase was embraced in Jerusalem in a deceitful attempt to convince the Miaphysites to accept Chalcedon.[639] He then argued that this is "an important piece of evidence on the heretofore obscure origin of the 'Theopaschite formula'."[640] Unfortunately, the dating of Philoxenus' letter (spring 521) makes it difficult to argue that the Jerusalemite initiative predated the Theopaschite controversy and influenced it in some way.

Further evidence for an Oriental connection comes from a *Suggestio* sent to the emperor from Antioch, Syria II, and Jerusalem,[641] arguing that Christ is the Son of God, one of the Trinity, in two natures, passible in his flesh and impassible in his divinity. The date of this *Suggestio* is unclear, but, judging by the mention of "petitions from the East" in a letter sent by Justin to Hormisdas in January 520,[642] the petition could have been presented in Constantinople toward the end of the summer of 519. Internal evidence from the *Suggestio* may also give an indication regarding the dating.

The arguments produced in this letter seem to have been tailored to prove that Christ is rightly called "one of the Trinity" in the Theopaschite formula, not to defend the formula

637 V. Schurr, *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius*, 149.
638 *Ibid.*, 154.
639 Philoxenus of Mabbug, *Letter to the monks of Senun*, 60-61.
640 *Ibid., Introduction*, IX.
641 *Coll. Avellana* 232a, 703-7.
642 *Ibid.*, 181, 636-637.

"One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" per se. Interestingly, it seems that the major opposition the Scythian monks encountered in Rome was due to the reluctance to confess that Christ, in this context, is rightly called "one of the Trinity." The correspondence between Rome and the papal legates stands as proof for this. Dionysius Exiguus' *Praefatio ad Felicianum et Pastorem*, an introduction to his translation of Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios*, as well as his *Exempla sanctorum patrum*, similarly reflects the fact that it was the "one of the Trinity" part of the Theopaschite formula that was under attacks.[643] Maxentius' *Responsio adversus epistulam Hormisdae* contains plenty of evidence in this sense.[644] By contrast, Maxentius' *Libellus fidei*, composed closer to the beginning of the controversy, insists on defending the formula "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" as a whole. It was probably after the monks' arrival in Rome in the summer of 519 that a slight shift in the focus of the controversy occurred, and the "one of the Trinity" part fell under heavier attack. In light of this consideration, it appears that the *Suggestio* of the Orientals was produced after this date. It is therefore of little help in establishing whether the Oriental involvement in this issue had an influence on the Scythian initiative, and seems to suggest, in fact, that it was a consequence of it.

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[643] Dionysius Exiguus, *Exempla sanctorum patrum quod unum quodlibet <licet> ex beata trinitate dicere*, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum IV, 2, ed. Eduard Schwartz, 74-96. A brief introduction to the *Exempla* summarizes the purpose of this work: "Cum ratio postulaverit, ob distinctionem personarum minime dubitare debeamus et quod Christus verbum, virtus et sapientia patris, sicut ante, sic et post incarnationem unus ex trinitate sit, quia incarnatio illa quam pro generis humani redemptione suscepit, sicut nihil ei contulit, ita quoque nihil ademit, quominus idem ipse qui utriusque naturae una persona est, non unus beatae trinitatis esse credatur." There existed a fear that saying "one of the Trinity" introduced an incongruous division in the Trinity: "Nonnullorum etiam opinionem auctoritate paterna redarguit, qui, unum ex tribus asserentes, unum ex trinitate dicere nulla ratione consentiunt, qui uocabulum trinitatis non personarum esse significatiuum, sed substantiae, suspicantur." (Dionysius Exiguus, *Praefatio ad Felicianum et Pastorem in Procli Constantinopolitani Tomus ad Armenios*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 85, 63-66, here 64). The translation of Proclus' *Tomus* and the *Exempla* were probably produced in the same period, at the time of the Scythian monks' stay in Rome. The same fear regarding the "one of the Trinity" is documented and rebuffed by Philoxenus of Mabbug (*Discourse* II, 106 ff.; Habib called Philoxenus "divider of the divinity" (*Ibid.*, 16, 123))

[644] Maxentius, *Responsio aduersus epistulam Hormisdae, passim*, e.g. I, 6, 131.

While there is no clear evidence for an Oriental promotion of the Theopaschite formula in the years 518-519, I have analyzed in the previous chapter a letter of Philoxenus to the monks of Palestine (dating approximately from around 508/9) in which the author condemns the use of the Theopaschite formula and of the term *Theotokos* by Chalcedonians in the East (in Palestine in particular). Philoxenus' enemy, bishop Flavian of Antioch, probably joined in this tendency close to the end of his episcopate (512). A *synodos endemousa* convened by emperor Anastasius probably in 507 allegedly established that the Theopaschite phrase needed to be included in the canon of orthodoxy.[645] It was probably in this context that the Chalcedonians incorporated this phrase into their confession. The potential for confusion among the Miaphysites (who could now be more easily convinced to switch sides) that resulted from here alerted Philoxenus, who raised his voice against this tendency in several letters, the *Letter to the monks of Palestine* being probably the earliest extant, as was seen in Chapter 3.

Although nothing concrete is known about the Oriental neo-Chalcedonian appropriation of the Theopaschite formula between the years 512 and 519, it is to be assumed that it persisted during these years. While there is nothing to prove an initial influence of this Oriental neo-Chalcedonian use of the Theopaschite formula on the Scythians, two elements suggest that the Scythians may have drawn inspiration from the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. First, the fact that they had probably been residing in Constantinople for a certain time before the accession of Justin I means that they had probably come in contact with the type of Oriental neo-Chalcedonianism criticized by Philoxenus of Mabbog. Secondly, Vitalian's fondness for patriarch Flavian of Antioch, his godson, may have determined a change in the Christological position of the future *magister militum*, who eventually

[645] A. Grillmeier, *CCT* II, 1, 270-1.

borrowed the Antiochian patriarch's neo-Chalcedonian position, including the support for the Theopaschite formula. This would mean that the Orientals, through Vitalian, shaped to a certain extent the Scythian monks' position.

The Theopaschite controversy represents the first direct and perhaps the most significant conflict between strict Chalcedonians and neo-Chalcedonians. Largely as a result of this controversy Justinian stirred the East toward neo-Chalcedonianism as the new norm for orthodoxy. The Theopaschite controversy bridged the early-sixth-century neo-Chalcedonian attempts to proclaim the Theopaschite formula orthodox and Justinian's legislation regarding Theopaschism in the 530s.

A remarkable synthesis of ideas, environments and traditions appears to have formed the background for the Theopaschite controversy. The origins of this controversy, to the extent that their history can be reconstructed, seem to stem from the regional heritage of Scythia Minor, as well as from Constantinople, and possibly from the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. The Scythians found it worthwhile presenting this synthesis in Rome and attempting to obtain Roman approval for a set of ideas widely accepted in the East at the beginning of the sixth century, but thoroughly unfamiliar in the West. This coincided with an imperial opening toward Rome, but happened at a time when other groups from the Eastern parts of the empire that had traditionally been under the influence of both Rome and Constantinople, such as Thessalonica, rejected Roman influence determinedly.

Epilogue: The Permanent Legitimization of the Theopaschite Formula under Justinian

In 518, openings were made toward reconciliation between the East and the West. With the arrival of the papal legates in Constantinople in March 519 and the obtaining of signatures for Hormisdas' *Libellus*, a formal union was achieved. The compromises, in Constantinople, included the elimination of the names of all the Constantinopolitan patriarchs from the time of the Acacian schism from the diptychs, as well as of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, and the acceptance of a unitive document which was probably more harshly Dyophysite than the Constantinopolitan patriarch and many others in the East would have liked it to be. Through all this Rome seemed to have gained the upper hand over religious matters.

To maintain this position there emerged a desire on the Roman side to get to know Eastern ecclesiastical politics better, which could allow for increased Roman involvement in Eastern affairs. In the preface to his translation of the Greek canons (addressed to Hormisdas), Dionysius Exiguus affirmed that he had undertaken this work upon papal request, "*ut et vestra paternitas auctoritate<m>, qua tenentur ecclesiae orientales, quaesivit agnoscere.*"[646]

However, the actual jurisdiction Constantinople was willing to grant Rome was reduced. Several important appeals from Rome, even in the early days of the reconciliation process, were politely, but firmly rejected. As was seen above, already from the spring of 519 the pope's legates were excluded from certain gatherings meant to settle religious conflicts in Constantinople. Moreover, even though they approved of the appointment that was eventually made to the see of Antioch, they were probably not very influential in the decision-making process. Other incidents that occurred in the years 519-520 suggest that,

[646] Dionysius Exiguus, *Praefatio ad Hormisdam papam* 4, 49.

despite the acceptance of the *Libellus* without modifications in Constantinople and throughout the Eastern provinces, Roman influence in Constantinople was reduced.

The court in Constantinople refused on several occasions to submit conflicts that had arisen in the East for judgment in Rome. Toward the end of 519, despite the insistence of the papal legates, the emperor refused to send to Rome Dorotheus of Thessalonica, who had refused to sign the *Libellus*,[647] and had moreover been involved in a bloody riot against the papal legates in Thessalonica in 519.[648] It was argued that, since his accusers were not in Rome, he would find there an easy escape.[649] But his judgment in Constantinople was the real easy escape. After being sent to Heraclea for a short period of time,[650] he even received his see back.[651] Similarly, despite papal insistence, Victor, the Constantinopolitan deacon with whom the Scythian monks had been in conflict, was not sent to Rome.

The pope and the papal legates requested on numerous occasions that three Chalcedonian bishops who had been removed from their sees at the time of the Acacian schism be restored.[652] In spite of this, Elias, Thomas and Nicostratus, the bishops in question, were never restored.

Even the Eastern commitment to remove the names of controversial bishops from the diptychs came to be reassessed toward the end of 520. In a letter sent from Constantinople in September 520 patriarch Epiphanius mentions certain pleas that had arrived from Pontus, Asia and the Oriens, from people "who find it difficult, and even impossible, to keep silence

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[647] *Coll. Avellana* 167, 3-4, 618.
[648] *Ibid.*, 186, 642-644.
[649] *Ibid.*, 185, 3, 641.
[650] *Ibid.*, 185, 3-4, 641-2. See discussion in P. Blaudeau, "A Stereotype of the Roman History of Monophysism? About the Violent Episode of Thessalonica (September 519)," in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (2004): 205-210.
[651] Romans had argued that bribery was also involved in this dénouement. See *Coll. Avellana* 186, 1, 642: "tantas enim pecunias secum detulerunt, ut non homines sed possint angelos excaecare."
[652] *Ibid.*, 171, 627-628; 172, 628-629; 173, 629-630; 175, 631-632; 210, 669; 211, 669-670.

over the names of some of their bishops, and they are so stubborn that they seem prepared to submit themselves to all dangers for this cause."[653]

It has been convincingly argued that several pieces of Justinianic legislation from the period similarly reflects a lack of interest in granting Rome any power of jurisdiction beyond a (sometimes inconsistent) formal recognition of its primacy. [654]

Once Justinian realized the potential of the Theopaschite formula to modulate the harshness of the Roman *Libellus*, and therefore the opportunity of bringing to communion the moderate anti-Chalcedonians of the East while reducing Roman influence, he ceaselessly lobbied with growing resolve to obtain recognition for this formula in the West.[655] Even though the Scythian monks were apparently well received in Rome in the summer of 519, and even though they had in Rome the support of a rather influential person, Dionysius Exiguus, and came recommended by Vitalian and Justinian, the goal of their mission was never accomplished. Despite their credentials, and despite growing insistence from Constantinople, Rome refused to acknowledge the orthodoxy of the formula.

While this did not lead to a new schism, the following decade was a period of cold relations between Rome and Constantinople.[656] The scarcity of correspondence is a clear proof thereof. Moreover, as can be seen from the case of the *patricius* Albinus, who was accused of treason in 523, attempts to maintain relations with the court of Constantinople were punished severely.[657]

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[653] *Coll. Avellana* 233, 5-6, 708.

[654] See G. Demacopoulos, "Roman Privilege in the Justinianic Legislation." Paper presented at the 34th Byzantine Studies Conference, Rutgers University, 2008.

[655] From July 519 until late 520 Justinian sent growingly more insistent letters to pope Hormisdas asking for the validation of the orthodoxy of the Theopaschite formula.

[656] Claire Sotinel, "Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century," in *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian*, 267-290, here 273.

[657] Support for Albinus brought condemnation upon Boethius as well. See *Ibid.*, 274.

The issue of the Theopaschite formula disappeared for a short while from public attention. On the one hand, this can be justified by the fact that Justinian saw it as a settled, non-negotiable matter. On the other hand, the opposition of the anti-Chalcedonians to the neo-Chalcedonian adoption of the Theopaschite phrase could have diminished in Justinian's eyes the potential for achieving peace held by this phrase. However, the phrase reappeared on Justinian's agenda upon the beginning of his reign in 527.[658]

In 532 Justinian convened a meeting between representatives of the Chalcedonians and of the anti-Chalcedonians[659] in the hope of achieving reconciliation between the two groups. Among other things, the anti-Chalcedonians were put in an embarrassing situation when confronted with the fact that Dioscorus, whom they held in esteem, had redeemed Eutyches, now unanimously condemned, at Ephesus II.[660] The Chalcedonians, in their turn, found it difficult to explain why Chalcedon, which had redeemed Ibas of Edessa, had to be considered orthodox. Moreover, the Chalcedonians were unwilling to renounce the two-nature formula, and the anti-Chalcedonians rejected a proposal to have both the two-nature and the one-nature formulas used together.[661]

The negotiations remained therefore fruitless, despite Justinian's eventual willingness to make great concessions to the anti-Chalcedonians, including the validation of the one-

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[658] An edict (*Codex Iustinianus* I.1.5, 10) conjecturally dated to 527 (based on a reference in the edict of 533; see *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.6, 3, 11) declared the "one of the Trinity" to be orthodox.
[659] For research on the Conversations, see S.P. Brock, "The Orthodox-Oriental Orthodox Conversations of 532," (1980) in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984); S.P. Brock, "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981): 87-121. P.T.R. Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon: Christological Problems and Their Significance," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, 215-238, here 229-230; L. Van Rompay, "Society and Community in the Christian East," in *Ibid.*, 239-266, here 244-246.
[660] This was already creating problems during Philoxenus' lifetime. Philoxenus wrote a letter defending Dioscorus, of which a short fragment was preserved (see J. Lebon, "Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug," 83-84). See also discussion in J. Lebon, "Autour du cas de Dioscore d'Alexandrie," *Le Muséon* 59 (1946): 515-528.
[661] Long Syriac account of the Conversations, edited and translated in S.P. Brock, "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," # 14.

nature formula in exchange for a formal recognition of the authority of Chalcedon as the council that had rejected Eutyches and Nestorius.

While the more extensive sources documenting the Conversations (Innocentius of Maronia and John bar Aphtonia) emphasize the disagreements between the two parties regarding the natures in Christ and the correct manner of describing the incarnation in terms of natures, they also mention certain disagreements caused by the Theopaschite phrase, and there is reason to believe that they were seen as the cause of significant dissent during the Conversations. The final passage of John bar Aphtonia's report points to the fact that the anti-Chalcedonians were willing to accept to communion anyone who embraced the orthodox faith and rejected heresy, and, stated explicitly in this text, who accepted the Theopaschite confession:

> Everyone who confesses the orthodox faith and who, on the other hand, anathematizes alien and foul doctrines; who says that God the Word was incarnate, and that he suffered for us in his flesh — (flesh) that is by nature subject to suffering and death; (that he suffered) of his own will, (both) sufferings that are natural and not in dispute, and death; (everyone who) distinguishes the time before the cross and that after the resurrection — with such a man we are in communion.[662]

When weighed against a passage in Innocentius' text, this statement ought to be understood in a more specific manner: the anti-Chalcedonians were willing to accept to communion those who accepted the Theopaschite confession **and** gave it an understanding that was acceptable to them, an understanding which, among other things, excluded all notion of duality beyond a Cyrilian ἐν θεωρία, and, above all, a duality of natures.

> And after we talked to each other, those who were in conflict with us tried to accuse us before the most pious emperor, and they hinted to him in private through somebody **that we did not confess that God suffered in the flesh, nor that He is one of the holy Trinity, nor that the miracles and the sufferings are of one and the same person.** Therefore, when the most holy patriarch went inside the venerable

[662] Long Syriac account, S.P. Brock, "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)," # 46.

> palace before the most pious emperor, together with the most reverend man archbishop Hypatius, his piety [the emperor] inquired with these words: Do we not confess that both the sufferings and the miracles are of one and the same person, our Lord Jesus Christ, and that He who suffered in the flesh is God, and that He is one of the Trinity? This most reverend man answered: "We, my lord, and even more so your mother the holy catholic and apostolic Church of God, preach that both the sufferings and the miracles are of one and the same person, of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, not of the same nature indeed, but, as the holy fathers have taught, "passible in the flesh, impassible in the divinity, circumscribed in the body, uncircumscribed in the spirit, earthly and heavenly, visible and intelligible, in such a way that the whole man, who fell under sin, cleaves to the one who is, the same, whole man and god," as blessed Gregory Nazianzen taught in the letter written to Cledonius, and as all the holy councils, convened both in Ephesus against Nestorius and in Chalcedon against Eutyches and Nestorius, consented and confirmed. But, again, we confess in this way that God suffered in the flesh because of those who confuse or divide, in such a way that, saying that he is passible in the flesh, we confess that he is impassible in the divinity; similarly, believing and confessing that he is one of the Trinity according to the divine nature, we believe that he agreed to become one of us according to the flesh, and just as He is consubstantial with the Father according to the divinity, so too He is consubstantial with us according to the humanity, and just as He is complete in His divinity, so too He is complete in His humanity. But if they confess differently and dare to say that he was according to the flesh even before the ages, and according to the divinity in recent days, or that he is a creature according to the divinity, and not created according to the humanity, or that he is visible and passible according to the divinity, and invisible <and impassible> according to the humanity, then let them insult us in vain because we disagree with them."[663]

Beyond the interest it bears on account of its dramatic structure, this passage is also interesting in what it reveals about the attitudes on Theopaschite language held by various parties in the 530s. Almost eighty years after Timothy Aelurus' first attacks on those who refused to use Theopaschite language, and on pope Leo's statement "unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis," the Chalcedonians had preserved on this matter the same attitude as that expressed, perhaps in response to Aelurus himself, as was argued in the first chapter of this dissertation, by Vigilius of Thapsus. It was acceptable to say that "One of the Trinity, God the Word suffered in the flesh" as long as it was mentioned, in addition to this, that He suffered according to his humanity, and that He was impassible in his divinity. Victor

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[663] Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione cum severianis habita* 82-86, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum IV, 2, 169-184, here 183. Emphasis mine.

of Tunnuna confirms that the issue at stake was the correct form that Theopaschite discourse had to take in order to be introduced in the canon of orthodoxy. While the anti-Chalcedonians were supporting the use of the Theopaschite formula *absolute*, the Chalcedonians could not conceive orthodoxy without a *secundum quid*:

> The party of the august Theodora did not declare that the "one of the Trinity suffered" ought to be accepted "according to," but in an absolute manner; he imposed this through universal law for everybody, and he forcefully required signatures from clergymen and monks. For this reason many separated themselves from the Church, and the monks left their own monasteries, saying that the faith of those who gathered in the four recognized holy synods was sufficient for them.[664]

In the final part of the account already cited, Innocentius offers an image of Justinian as acting with a certain reservation when doctrinal issues were at stake, and placing great value on the opinion of the bishop of Constantinople. Innocentius seem to imply that Justinian accepted Epiphanius' explanation regarding the Chalcedonian acceptance of Theopaschite language as a satisfactory answer to the problem raised by the anti-Chalcedonians (see the passage quoted above). After this episode, Justinian presumably dismissed the anti-Chalcedonians, saying:

> If in truth they wish to be united to us, or rather to your holy Church, inspire them to agree with us immediately; but if they do not want, shackle them, so that they be accused, and not we.[665]

Even though he mentions it in passing, Innocentius dismisses the extent of Justinian's reaching out to the anti-Chalcedonians after the Conversations. However, the emperor's next act in matters of doctrine is one of significance, and sheds a different light on his openness to the anti-Chalcedonian cause at this stage.

To resolve the issue of Theopaschite discourse once and for all, Justinian published on 15 March 533 an edict on doctrine,[666] a document which by no means tilted the balance in

[664] Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicon* 130, 42.
[665] Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula de collatione* 88, 183-184.

favor of the Chalcedonians, as Innocentius had characterized the emperor's actions after the Conversations.

Like Zeno's *Henoticon*, this doctrinal edict did not address the problem of natures in Christ, explicitly rejected the formula "unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis," and, while it condemned Eutyches and Nestorius, like any other doctrinal document of the period, it left out all mention of Chalcedon.[667]

Justinian, however, in addition to the sentence, present also in the *Henoticon*, "the Trinity remained a Trinity even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, was made flesh," also incorporated in his edict the stronger statement "our Master Jesus Christ the Son of God and our God, who was made flesh and became man and was crucified, is one of the consubstantial Trinity."[668] After a brief period of validation at the time of Anastasius I, the Theopaschite phrase entered at this time, through Justinian's intervention, the official canon of orthodoxy.

Justinian refused at first to reveal in Rome the extent to which this edict offered legitimization to the anti-Chalcedonians. The edict was circulated in the East only at first, being addressed to the people of Constantinople, Ephesus, Caesarea, Cyzicus, Amida, Trapezopolis, Jerusalem, Apamea, Iustinianopolis, Theopolis, Sebastia, Tarsus, and Ancyra.[669] For the patriarch of Constantinople and for Rome, Justinian wrote individual

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[666] See *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.6, 10-12; *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 A.D.*, tr. and comm. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 129-130.
[667] It also leaves out all mention of Dioscorus, despite the contestation that had manifested itself during the Conversations, demonstrating one more time the extent of Justinian's support for the Miaphysites.
[668] *Chronicon Paschale*, 130. The edict, tentatively dated to 527, does not contain the Theopaschite formula per se, but contains its **attenuated** form, also found in the *Henoticon*, "one of the Trinity, God the Word, **became incarnate**" (*Codex Iustinianus* I.1.5, 2, 10). Emphasis mine.
[669] *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.6, 12.

letters. On 26 March 533, he wrote to patriarch Epiphanius of Constantinople,[670] and on 6 June he wrote to pope John II. In contrast to the initial edict, which omitted all mention of Chalcedon, in these letters he included repeated affirmations of the validity of Chalcedon. Moreover, in the letter addressed to Epiphanius "one of the Trinity" was declared valid on account of its conformity with Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios* (a detail missing from the edict on doctrine), an obvious attempt to make the formula more palatable to the patriarch of Constantinople.

The letter addressed to John II omitted the passage condemning Eutyches and his followers altogether,[671] therefore minimizing the gravity of anti-Chalcedonian opposition, and focused instead on the dangers raised by a group of "Nestorians" and "Jews" who refused to confess that Christ is "one of the Trinity." These agitators were in fact identified more specifically in this letter as a small group of monks.[672] They were most likely the Acoimetae monks, who had a long history of opposing Theopaschite discourse in Constantinople. The fact that Justinian did not identify the monks in a more specific manner is actually of significance: the Acoimetae had a history of friendly relations and collaboration with the apostolic see, and the emperor wanted to avoid perhaps the complications that could have arisen from naming them specifically, and therefore indirectly accusing Rome of having protected a group of heretics.[673]

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[670] *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.7, 12-14 and *ibid.* I.1.8, 14-16. For an explanation of the chronology of the documents issued in 533-4, *Chronicon Paschale*, fn. 374, 128-129.

[671] In their commentary to the *Chronicon Paschale*, Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby suggest that the rejection of the Eutychians and Apollinarians in the edict of March 15, and later in that of 20 November 533, was directed against the Julianists, and was meant to attract the approval of mainstream Miaphysites, who were actively engaged in fighting the former at this time. See *Chronicon*, fn. 375, 131. This could explain why this specific anathema was then omitted in the letter addressed to pope John II.

[672] *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.8, 16.

[673] In his reply letter, pope John II states that he was refusing communion to some Acoimetae monks present in Constantinople, while nevertheless enjoining the emperor to accept their repentance if they ever desired to return to the right belief (*Codex Iustinianus* I.1.8, 17-8).

The manner of address in this letter is forceful. A "do ut des" injunction appears toward the end of the letter to John II: Justinian asked the pope to accept this document on faith, as Constantinople in its turn had "followed in everything the apostolic see."[674] In other words, Hormisdas' *Libellus* had been accepted for the sake of reconciliation, but this did not mean, Justinian implied, that Rome held sole control over the canon of orthodoxy. The time had come for Constantinople to intervene in order to protect orthodox belief.

As in the case of the letter addressed to the patriarch of Constantinople, Justinian introduced in his letter to pope John II certain elements that are missing from the original edict, and which, just like the reference to Proclus in the letter to patriarch Epiphanius, were meant to increase the odds of obtaining papal approval. Most importantly, the letter to pope John used repeatedly the formulation "passibilis carne, impassibilis deitate," a phrase otherwise missing from the edict issued in March, and intended to modulate the Miaphysite undertones of the "one of the Trinity." Also, just as in the letter to Epiphanius of Constantinople, Chalcedon is mentioned on several occasions throughout the letter to John II.

The response of the pope was a positive one, but it was delayed until 25 March 534, and, as it appears, it had no *de facto* influence on Justinian's decisions. Evidence from the *Chronicon Paschale* suggests that Justinian reissued his edict in November 533, before the pope's reply was received, and, on this occasion, the list of addressees was notably wider, including Rome, Thessalonica, and Alexandria.[675] In other words, the approval of the pope was at this stage desired, but by no means essential for the legitimization of the "one of the Trinity" formula.

[674] *Codex Iustinianus* I.1.8, 16. The reference here is probably to Hormisdas' *libellus,* above all.
[675] See *Chronicon Paschale*, 128-130; see also fn. 374, 128-9.

Once the doctrinal aspect of the polemic over Theopaschite discourse was settled, its introduction in the liturgy became the next natural step, and its acceptance was nowhere as problematic as it had been in Antioch in 469-471. On Justinian's initiative,[676] the troparion *Ὁ Μονογενής*[677] was introduced in the liturgy in 535 or 536.[678] Even though the anti-Chalcedonians had publicly chanted the Theopaschite Trisagion in Constantinople on the occasion of an earthquake in 533,[679] the accusation which was commonly laid against this hymn in the capital (namely that the hymn was addressed to the Trinity, and that "who was crucified for us" therefore introduced suffering in the divinity) probably prevented Justinian from validating its presence in the official liturgy. The *Ὁ Μονογενής* preserved all the doctrinal elements of the Theopaschite Trisagion, but clarified the addressee as being God the Word.

The canon of doctrine underwent numerous changes between 451 and 533. Among these changes, the legitimization of Theopaschite discourse was one of the most important. It was a long process in which imperial support turned out to be crucial. The promotion of Theopaschite discourse in the immediate aftermath of Chalcedon was reserved. Even so, moderate Chalcedonian milieus were immediately, and then consistently receptive to this type of discourse, recognizing its importance for bringing anti-Chalcedonians back to the

[676] He is also considered to be the author of this hymn by the Byzantine tradition. V. Grumel ("L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire Ὁ Μονογενής," 417) has convincingly argued that Theophanes' text does not necessarily mean that Justinian composed the hymn, but that it was introduced by him in the liturgy. Therefore, it is possible that Severus was indeed the author, since this hymn is known in the Jacobite liturgy as the "Hymn of Severus," and that the emperor then adopted this hymn and added it to the liturgy.
[677] "Only-begotten Son and Word of God, who are Immortal, and condescended for our salvation to become incarnate of the holy Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary; and without change became man and was crucified, O Christ our God, trampling down death by death, who are One of the Holy Trinity, glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, save us."
[678] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6028, 314.
[679] *Chronicon Paschale* 128.

imperial Church. While Ch. Moeller has argued[680] that after some manifestation in the response letters to emperor Leo I's *Codex Encyclicus*, there is no other sign of neo-Chalcedonianism before the beginning of the sixth century, the Chalcedonians' constant contemplation and reassessment of Theopaschite discourse paints a different picture.

As the anti-Chalcedonian presence in the East became stronger and better organized, Theopaschite discourse surfaced and became prominent, in the liturgy at first, and then in doctrinal polemics. Shaped in this context, neo-Chalcedonianism was particularly receptive to this type of discourse, and its consolidation in turn gave reassurance to the court in Constantinople that, by incorporating Theopaschism in the orthodox doctrine, a reconciliation with the Miaphysites could become possible. This reconciliation never occurred, but Theopaschism, sanctioned by Justinian's doctrinal edict of 533 and then incorporated in the liturgy in the form of the troparion *Ὁ Μονογενής*, remained an important element of Byzantine theology.

[680] Ch. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme," 669.

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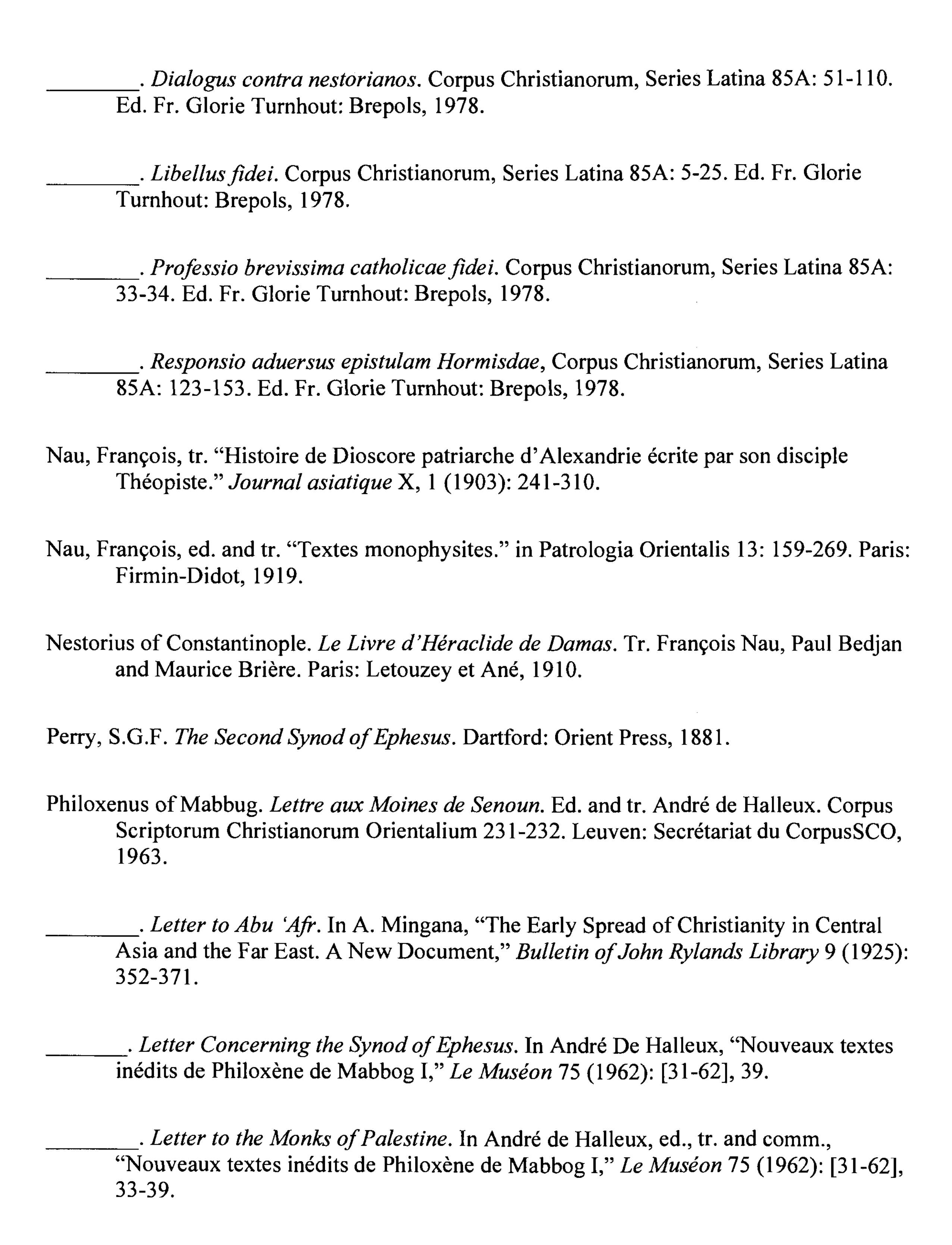
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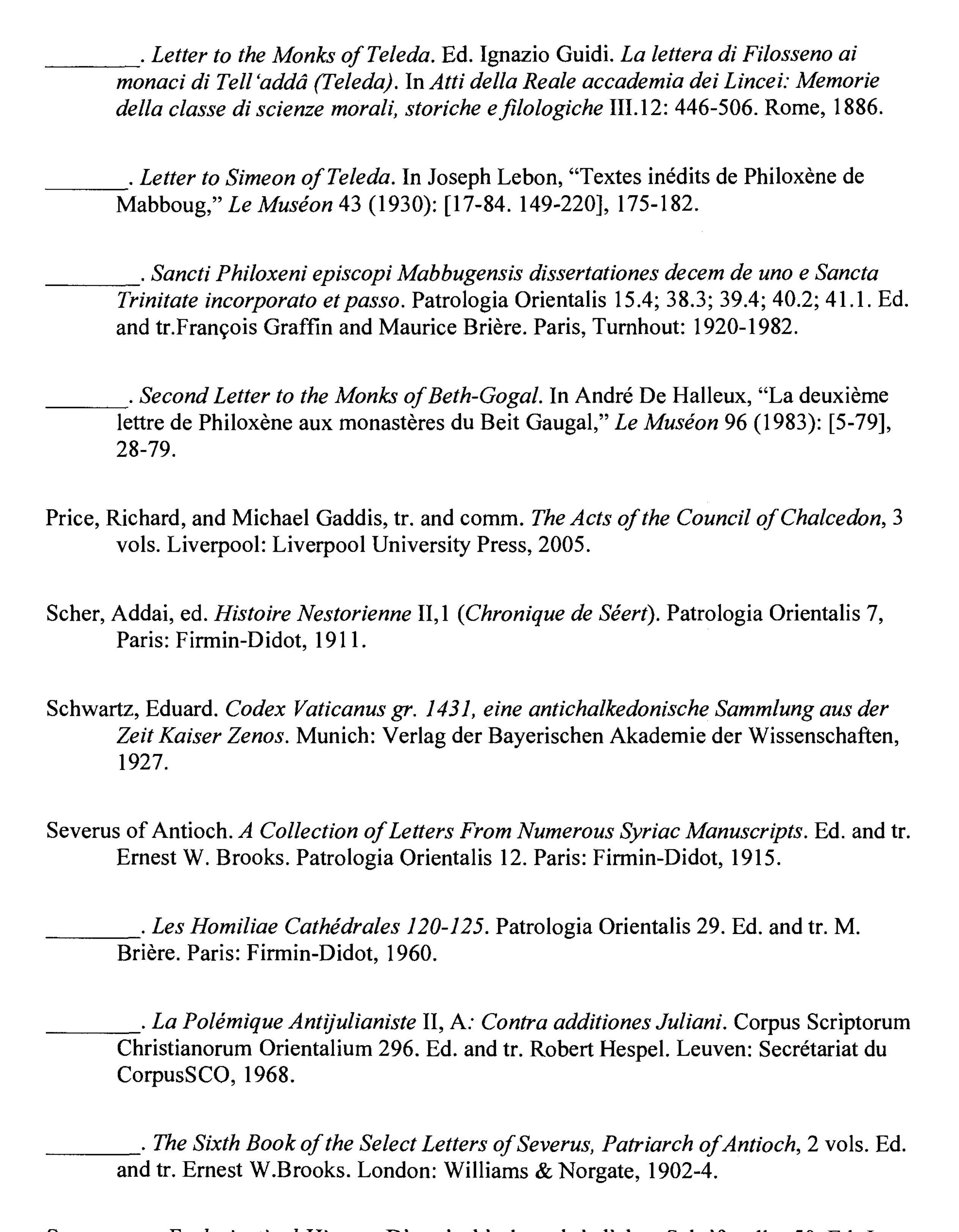
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